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The "Ch'an school" and its place in the Buddhist monastic tradition

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THE "CH'AN SCHOOL" AND ITS PLACE IN THE BUDDHIST MONASTIC TRADITION

by

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PART TWO

TOWARDS AN INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF EARLY CH'AN

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CYCK	*Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, in Kagamishima, et al, ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi.*
DZZS	*Dōgen zenji zenshū*, ed. by Ōkubo Dōshū
IBK	*Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū*
P	Pelliot Collection
S	Stein Collection
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
ZZ	*Dainippon zokuzōkyō*

LIST OF APPENDICES

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Fundamental Issue: Was the Early Ch'an School a Sect?

Research on the present dissertation began with intention of investigating "early Ch'an monastic institutions." What I had in mind was a study of the distinctive system of monastic training which is supposed to have been established by monks of the Ch'an school of Chinese Buddhism sometime during the T'ang dynasty (618–907). The one thing I took for granted in conceiving such a topic was the existence of "Ch'an" monastic institutions in the T'ang. This was hardly a daring presupposition: modern historians, following the lead of traditional Ch'an historiography, have been virtually unanimous in regarding the establishment of independent monasteries in the T'ang as an important milestone in the development of the Ch'an school.

According to the traditional account, which has found widespread acceptance among Ch'an and Zen school historiographers from the Sung dynasty (960–1279) down to the present, the Ch'an master Pai-chang Huai-hai (749–814) compiled the first set of distinctive Ch'an monastic rules and established the first independent Ch'an monastery. Prior to Pai-chang, the story goes, followers of the Ch'an school resided in "Vinaya monasteries" (*lü-yüan*, *lü-ssu*), where they had their own separate compounds (*pieh-yüan*), but were regulated by the ancient monastic rules handed down in the Vinaya tradition.

Modern critical historians have generally accepted the basic outline of the traditional account, while taking issue with one or another of its specific claims. Some, for example, argue that a distinctive system of Ch'an monastic training had been taking shape long before Pai-chang's time, and that Pai-chang's compilation of a set of rules was merely the culmination of

that process.[1] Others concur almost completely with the traditional account, crediting the establishment of independent Ch'an school monastic institutions, if not to Pai-chang alone, then collectively to Pai-chang and other followers of the so-called Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788) which thrived in Kiangsi and Hunan around the turn of the ninth century.[2] Scholars debate the contents of the so-called "Pai-chang Code" (*Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*), which is not extant (at least in the form of a text bearing that title). The question of when and how that code was lost (if indeed it ever existed) has also been the topic of considerable debate.[3] Despite these differences of scholarly opinion, however, historians today are in fundamental agreement that the Ch'an school had distinctive rules governing the organization and operation of its own separate monasteries from at least the beginning of the ninth century.

Although I accepted the prevailing scholarly view at first, as I reviewed contemporary studies of T'ang Ch'an monastic institutions and checked the classical Chinese sources on which modern historians rely I began to harbor serious doubts. I had initially been concerned with describing the features of T'ang Ch'an monasticism, but my attention soon turned to a more fundamental question: did distinctively "Ch'an" monastic institutions actually exist prior to the Sung dynasty?

My doubts on this matter were triggered by several considerations. In the first place, I discovered that apart from details connected with the story of Pai-chang's rules, the classical literature of Ch'an contains no explicit descriptions of "Ch'an" monasteries in the T'ang.[4] By contrast, there is a considerable body of historical materials which concretely describe (or prescribe, in the form of rules and regulations) the physical layout, organization of personnel, ritual procedures, and training methods employed in the major Ch'an monasteries" (*ch'an-ssu, ch'an-yüan*) of the Sung and Yüan (1280-1368) dynasties.[5]

The most important textual sources pertaining to Ch'an in-

stitutions in the Sung and Yüan are the so-called "pure rules" (*ch'ing-kuei*) or monastic codes. The oldest extant code of this type is the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (*Pure Rules for Ch'an Monasteries*), compiled in 1103.[6] The mere fact that no such codes survive from the T'ang does not prove that they did not exist, of course. Many historians take the position that an earlier Ch'an code (conventionally referred to as the "Pai-chang Code") existed but was lost. Nevertheless, the dearth of materials explicitly describing T'ang "Ch'an" monasteries is striking, especially when one considers, again by way of comparison, that a tremendous quantity of hagiographical material pertaining to the lives and teachings of various T'ang Ch'an masters has come down to us (mostly in Sung compilations). Although negative evidence can never be conclusive, one would at least expect to find some explicit mention of distinctive, independent "Ch'an" monasteries in the biographies of the T'ang Ch'an masters, if indeed those masters had resided in such institutions. Such references do not occur, not even in the biographies of Pai-chang and the other Hung-chou masters, which survive in Sung and later editions.[7]

Virtually all of the classical sources which touch on the arrangement of explicitly "Ch'an" monasteries prior to the Sung do so in the context of discussing Pai-chang's innovations. This fact alone aroused my suspicions. But it was not until I had compared the various versions of the Pai-chang story that I realized how slender a reed it is that supports the common belief in "T'ang Ch'an monastic institutions." All of the classical accounts of Pai-chang's founding of an independent system of Ch'an monastic training, it turns out, may be traced back to a single source. The source is a brief text conventionally referred to as the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* ("Regulations of the Ch'an Approach"), after the title given to the redaction found in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (*The Ching-te [era] Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*).[8] Not only the accounts found in the classical literature, but also all modern scholarly descriptions of the life and training that are supposed to have taken

place in independent "Ch'an" monasteries in the T'ang are grounded in some way on the evidence of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*.

A critical evaluation of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is crucial to the study of Ch'an monastic institutions in the T'ang. With so much resting on the evidence of this single text, we need to know not only when it was composed, but by whom, for what purpose, and on the basis of what prior sources (if any), before we can adequately judge the validity of the specific claims it makes about the nature of T'ang Ch'an monasticism. Moreover, we need to examine those claims themselves with utmost care to avoid reading more into them than a critical interpretation of the text will bear. Scholars have at times been too quick to discover in the text the confirmation of some preconceived, idealized notions of what "pure" Ch'an monasticism in the T'ang must have been like. Finally, we need to find a way to corroborate (or positively disprove) on the basis of external evidence the specific claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. How this might be accomplished is not readily apparent, for as has already been noted, there are no other sources containing explicit accounts of T'ang "Ch'an" monasticism against which the claims of *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* might be tested.

Much of Part Two of the present dissertation is devoted to solving these problems associated with the critical evaluation of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. It may be helpful at this juncture to make note of certain suspicions and conclusions concerning the nature of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* which, midway through my research, led me to redefine the topic that I had originally conceived as a simple study of "early Ch'an monastic institutions."

The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* cannot be proven to have existed any earlier than 988, more than a century and a half after Pai-chang's death. It was most likely written around the time of the founding of the Sung Dynasty in 960, when proponents of the Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*) were emerging as a dominant force in Chinese Buddhism, and were busily engaged in writing the

history of that lineage for the purpose of consolidating it and establishing its credentials as the orthodox Buddhist tradition worthy of state support. The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account of Pai-chang's rules served the ideological needs of the Ch'an school in the Sung, and indeed came to play a key role in defining the Ch'an school as such.

This does not mean that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is worthless as a source for studying T'ang Ch'an monasticism, but it does mean that it cannot simply be taken at face value as a straightforward historical record. It is, above all, a *religious* text, one which attempts to sanctify existing (tenth century) monastic institutions by attributing them in spirit to the revered ancestral teacher Pai-chang. It is also, as I have just suggested, a *political* document, one which is clearly concerned with the problem of maintaining a satisfactory relationship between the Buddhist (not merely "Ch'an") monastic order and the state.

Having come to view the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in this light, my doubts about the nature of "Ch'an" monastic institutions in the T'ang intensified. I began to question whether said institutions were anything more than the mythical product of Sung historiography, which in the course of many repetitions eventually established the Pai-chang story as a widely accepted fact in Chinese Buddhist circles.

This suspicion, in turn, led me to raise some fundamental questions about the nature of the T'ang Ch'an school itself. If, as I had come to suspect, the Ch'an school in the T'ang cannot be defined as a religious denomination that had its own distinctive monastic institutions, then how can it be defined? And where did it stand in relation to the mainstream of Buddhist monasticism? Was the Ch'an school, for example, an informal fellowship of monks who resided in "ordinary" (i.e. not uniquely "Ch'an") Buddhist monasteries with other monks, but distinguished themselves by their specialization in dhyāna (*ch'an*) practice? It was common in the earlier Indian and Chinese Buddhist traditions for dhyāna specialists to live in the

same monasteries as monks who specialized in doctrinal or Vinaya study, so it is not difficult to imagine a similar arrangement persisting throughout the T'ang.[9] Or perchance did the T'ang Ch'an school consist of a loosely knit association of mountain hermits and wandering ascetics, non-conformist meditation specialists who rejected the settled monastery life?[10] Or did it entirely lack any distinctive institutional forms, and exist only as what we might call a school of thought? If so, it might have accomodated Buddhist monks who lived in a variety of institutional settings and were engaged in many different religious practices.

There is a tendency, especially evident among Japanese scholars working on the "history of the Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū shi*), to assume that the Ch'an school in the T'ang was an independently organized religious denomination, similar to the Zen school (*zenshū*) that evolved in Japan from the thirteenth century. As I have already indicated, the primary piece of evidence cited in support of this view is the problematic text known as the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Many historians have also cited the doctrinal positions and teaching devices employed by T'ang Ch'an masters as evidence that the early Ch'an lineage was a protest movement that asserted itself in opposition to the established Buddhist order. The assumption is then made that if the Ch'an school displayed an unorthodox approach to Buddhist doctrine and practice, it must have also developed its own distinctive institutional organization.

The characterization of the early Ch'an school as a protest movement has taken a number of different forms. Hu Shih, for example, describes Ch'an as a "Chinese reformation or revolution within Buddhism,"[11] a revolt against the "conquest" of China by the Indian religion, destined to sweep away such presumably alien elements as "all worship and prayer, all constant incantation of sutras and dharanis, all alms-giving and merit gathering, and even all practice of dhyana or Zen."[12] Arthur Wright states that "Ch'an may be regarded as the reaction of a powerful tradition of Chinese thought," namely, that associated

with Taoism, "against the verbosity, the scholasticism, the tedious logical demonstrations, of the Indian Buddhist texts."[13] Yanagida Seizan regards early Ch'an as a movement which "disavowed in entirety" the Buddhism that had been transmitted from India through Central Asia and had first taken root in Chinese society.[14] For Yanagida, however, the early Ch'annists were also "outsiders" vis-à-vis traditional Chinese thought, and represented a completely new, yet distinctively Chinese, religious movement.[15] Kenneth Ch'en describes the rise of Ch'an as a protest against the established Chinese schools of Buddhism with their "excessive reliance on the external paraphenalia of the religion,"[16] and states that "the Ch'an masters in China broke away from the Indian dependence upon the sacred scriptures, objects of worship, rituals, and metaphysical speculation to build a school of Buddhism which favored a plain, direct, concrete, and practical approach to enlightenment."[17] Ch'en's observations reflect the view, promoted by D.T. Suzuki, that Ch'an was the product of the assimilation of the Indian Mahāyāna doctrine of enlightenment by the "practical" Chinese genius.[18] As these citations show, scholars have differed considerably on the question of where the Ch'an movement found its source of inspiration, but there is widespread agreement that early Ch'an took the form of a reaction against various modes of religious expression prevalent in the established Buddhist schools.

With the study of documents found at Tun-huang, it has become apparent that the early Ch'an school (if such can be said to have existed), was far from being a monolithic, clearly defined tradition. The picture of eighth century Ch'an that has emerged from research on such Tun-huang texts as the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* is one of various competing movements, each striving to define and legitimate itself as a lineage with its own distinctive teachings and claim to Dharma transmission traceable back to a first ancestral teacher (often, but not always, identified as Bodhidharma). In light of these findings, any blanket charac-

terization of early Ch'an would be fraught with difficulties.

A few scholars, moreover, have cautioned against overstating early Ch'an's character as a radical protest movement. In particular, those dealing with the historical works of the Ch'an monk scholar Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841) have pointed out that among the various competing branches of the Ch'an school in the T'ang there were a number that did not take such a negative stance toward traditional Buddhist scholasticism, cult and discipline. Jan Yün-hua, for example, notes that "the rebellious, anti-textual, anti-ceremonial, anti-institutional tendency" was but one element in the complex development of eighth and ninth century Ch'an described by Tsung-mi.[19] The rejection of the Buddhist canonical and exegetical traditions, and the adoption of an earthy, vernacular mode of instruction which led to the birth in the T'ang of a new literature of "sayings books" (*yü-pen*) -- later compiled and edited as "recorded sayings" (*yü-lu*) -- was a radical new approach, but as we know from Tsung-mi, it was not characteristic of all the branches of T'ang Ch'an.[20]

In any case, the evidence of the Tun-huang documents and Tsung-mi's works makes it clear that the characterization of early Ch'an as a radical protest against traditional Buddhist modes of doctrinal and cultic expression needs to be carefully qualified according to factions, dates and geographical areas. Let us assume for the sake of discussion, however, that the characterization is generally accurate, or at least accurate with respect to those branches of T'ang Ch'an which thrived in Kiangsi and Hunan, and which the later tradition honored as the mainstream transmitters of the Ch'an Dharma.

A question which then arises is: to what extent did Ch'annists in the T'ang and before also reject and stand apart from the organizational structure and role in society of existing Buddhist monastic institutions? Or, to rephrase the same question, did the early Ch'an school (or any branches of it) constitute a *sect*? For the purposes of this dissertation, I adhere to the following working definition of "sect":

> In a religion which lacks central organization, members who feel themselves to be religiously deprived and who therefore seek new facilities, new activities, and re-estimations of their social worth can usually be accommodated by the ready accretion of beliefs and practices to the dominant tradition. Only where the social and religious status of established functionaries is threatened are such demands likely to be universally resisted; this may be the occasion for the emergence of a sect -- that is, a new religious movement which rejects the authority of the dominant religious tradition.
>
> Although sects arise not only from distinct processes of schism, we may refer to a sect whenever the relations between the new movement and the one from which it has seceded are characterized by mutual rejection and exclusion (reserving the term cult for movements in which such exclusiveness is absent). This process occurs most typically where the dominant religion is centrally organized.[21]

Two factors are implied when a religious movement is called a "sect": (1) an element of protest or rebellion against an established religious tradition, and (2) the creation of a completely separate religious organization, resulting from an inability on the part of the dominant tradition to accommodate or tolerate a protest that arose within it. At least some branches of the Ch'an school in the T'ang seem to have taken the form of radical protest movements within the dominant Buddhist tradition. The key question, then, is: were these protests accommodated within existing Buddhist institutional forms, or did they result in the creation of new, completely independent organizations? This question, to the best of my knowledge, has not been posed before in a carefully defined, explicit manner. As I have suggested, however, it has been answered implicitly in some influential scholarly studies.

As was noted above, historians are generally divided on the question of *when*, not *if*, sectarian Ch'an monastic institutions came into existence in the T'ang. Yanagida Seizan, representing one widely held point of view, has argued that:

> The formation of the Chinese Ch'an lineage in actual practice began with the variegated activities of Ma-tsu (709-788) and the followers in his lineage. In the first place, the use of the name "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-*

> *tsung*) in an explicit sense is a distinctive feature of their sermons. Following the rise of early Chinese Ch'an with Bodhidharma, the well defined movement towards the development of the Ch'an lineage in its genuine, mature form may be said to have taken place in Ma-tsu's later years. This is a striking fact which can be discerned not only in the doctrinal assertions of the new Buddhist movement comprised of Ma-tsu's followers, but also in various social and institutional trends....[22]

One of the "social and institutional trends" to which Yanagida refers in this passage was the "epoch-making codification of monastic rules (*ch'ing-kuei*)" by Ma-tsu's disciple, Pai-chang.[23] Elsewhere Yanagida states that:

> The movement toward the independence of the Chinese Ch'an lineage that began with Ma-tsu took an even more distinct form with the appearance of the *Pai-chang Code* (*Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*), which codified concrete rules pertaining to such matters as the organization of monastic communities and the life of religious training.[24]

The formation of the "Pai-chang Code," according to Yanagida, showed that the "revolutionary" movement stemming from Ma-tsu "had an independent character not bound by tradition," and was "greatly different" from the earlier Buddhist institutions which had been centered in the imperial capitals and certain famous mountain monasteries.[25] Yanagida's position, in short, is that Ch'an doctrines had been developing since the time of Bodhidharma, but that the Ch'an school understood as a sectarian religious body with a clear sense of its own identity and an independent system of monastic training came into existence with the so-called Hung-chou lineage of Ma-tsu in Kiangsi and Hunan around the turn of the ninth century.

Another scholarly point of view holds that the formation of distinctive, independent Ch'an monastic institutions actually took place considerably before Pai-chang's time. This position was first taken by Ui Hakuju, who challenged the claim made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that Ch'an monks before Pai-chang had resided in "Vinaya monasteries" (*lü-ssu*), and advanced the thesis that the so-called East Mountain (*tung-shan*) communities

of the fourth and fifth ancestral teachers of Ch'an, Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (-674), were the earliest characteristically Ch'an monasteries.[26] According to Ui, the Ch'an school had its beginnings among wandering ascetics and mountain hermits who shunned the established monastic centers in order to practice austerities (*t'ou-t'o-hsing*) and meditation in remote areas. The implication is that the Ch'an school started out as a sectarian movement which rejected the mainstream ecclesiastical order. When these early Ch'annists began to settle down in communities of their fellows at the time of the Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, this account goes, necessity dictated some sort of rules of social organization, and the Ch'an school gradually developed its own distinctive monastic codes and institutional forms.[27]

Martin Collcutt takes a similar position:

> While Ch'an was developing doctrinally and shaping its particular methods of encouraging enlightenment, it was also taking a more clearly defined monastic form with the compilation of distinctive Ch'an "pure regulations" or "regulations for the pure community" (*ch'ing-kuei*). Pai-chang (749-814) is generally thought of as the first Ch'an codifier and as the architect of Ch'an independence from the Lü (Vinaya) school. It seems likely, however, that some Ch'an regulations had been drawn up before Pai-chang's time. He probably did little more than lend his name to a developing corpus. Nor is it certain that Ch'an monks were all confined to Lü school monasteries prior to Pai-chang. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that they had already begun to establish their own independent communities, like that at the East Mountain, with characteristic buildings and patterns of monastic organization and daily life.[28]

Philip Yampolsky also echoes Ui's theory of the formation of early Ch'an monastic communities, and makes the point that the Ch'an school's emergence as a sectarian entity necessitated the compilation of "histories" (hagiographical genealogies) to establish its identity and legitimacy:

> Meditation had always been an essential part of Indian Buddhism and it was no less important in China.... Eventually there came to be practitioners who devoted themselves almost exclusively to meditation. Contemporary records of them are scant and little is known of

> what they taught. Probably originally wandering ascetics, some of them began to gain a following, and eventually communities of monks were established, where the practitioners meditated and worked together. Toward the end of the seventh century one such community, that of the priest Hung-jen, of the East Mountain, had gained considerable prominence. Hung-jen, or the Fifth Patriarch, as he later came to be known, had a great number of disciples who left their Master at the completion of their training, moved to various areas of the nation, and established schools of their own. It is with these men that the story of Ch'an as a sect begins.
>
> Once Ch'an began to be organized into an independent sect it required a history and a tradition.... In the manufacture of this history, accuracy was not a consideration; a tradition traceable to the Indian Patriarchs was the objective.[29]

Regardless of when they think the first Ch'an monasteries were founded, scholars generally agree with Ui's theory that the early figures in the Ch'an lineage -- the first and second ancestral teachers, Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, and their followers -- were ascetics who distanced themselves from the mainstream of institutionalized Buddhism. Yanagida, for example, writes:

> It is certain that the followers who gathered around Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o habitually practiced austerities (*t'ou-t'o*) in the forests and fields, and that they constituted an extremely novel existence in contrast to the Northern Chinese Buddhism of the day, which took as its task the spreading of the religion among the populace; the latter had degenerated into a form of temple Buddhism involved in the performance of flourishing ceremonies throughout the year, conventionalized lectures on the sutras, and a doctrine which stressed the acquisition of merit by constructing temples and images.[30]

Yanagida sees the full fruition of Ch'an as a sectarian movement in the emergence of the Ch'an school proper with Ma-tsu and Pai-chang, but as is clear from the preceding statement, he also believes that from the very start the principals in that movement tended to reject established Buddhist modes of practice and interaction with the laity.

Most historians share a common view insofar as they con-

ceive of the evolution of early Ch'an monasticism as a largely independent phenomenon, an institutional counterpart, as it were, to the doctrinal independence expressed in the famous Ch'an formula, "A separate transmission outside the teachings" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan*). Yanagida, in fact, cites this formula in making the point that the early Ch'an lineage was a "sect" in the technical sense defined in the sociology of religion.[31]

The subsequent history of the Ch'an school in China, from the "golden age" of the Hung-chou masters in the late eighth and early ninth centuries up until the transmission of fully mature Ch'an monastic forms to Japan in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is usually described in terms of its growing strength and dominance over Chinese Buddhism as a whole. Most historians agree that the stage was set for the Ch'an school's rise to preeminence by the decimation of competing schools in the severe suppression of Buddhist institutions that took place during the Hui-ch'ang era (841-846) of the T'ang. Various reasons have been adduced for the Ch'an school's seemingly singular resilience, ranging from its geographical location to its purported economic independence, or even its supposed freedom from reliance on any institutional forms. Whatever the explanation, the prevailing view, as Yampolsky puts it, is that "when the persecutions were lifted under the reign of the new emperor in 846, Ch'an found itself the dominant sect of Chinese Buddhism."[32]

Collcutt describes the emergence of Ch'an as the leading force in Sung Chinese Buddhism in the following manner:

> The characteristic Zen communal life -- stressing communal meditation, active debate between master and disciples, frugality, and manual labor -- was taking shape by the T'ang dynasty. Thereafter, while other Buddhist sects succumbed to persecution or religious inertia, Ch'an gained in strength. By the time Japanese pilgrim monks began to travel to China again in the Sung dynasty, Ch'an had emerged as the most vital and influential form of monastic Buddhism in China. In the intervening centuries, a detailed body of Ch'an monastic regulations was established. The compilation of this corpus was both cause and effect of the new-found dominance of Ch'an in Chinese Buddhist circles. The

> composition of new monastic codes gave strength and cohesion to the Ch'an monastic institution and injected vitality into the Ch'an monastic life. At the same time, the promulgation of elaborate, distinctively Ch'an codes was undoubtedly the product of a sense of sectarian maturity and independence. The corpus was later transmitted to Japan to provide the foundation of Japanese Zen monastic life.[33]

In this way, historians have portrayed the evolution of the Ch'an school as a phenomemon that took place more or less independently of the rest of the Buddhist tradition, from its beginnings among wandering ascetics who existed outside the ecclesiastical mainstream, to its flowering as a radical sectarian movement which developed distinctive monastic institutions, and its eventual emergence between the late T'ang and early Sung as the dominant form of monastic Buddhism in China.

The problem with this view is that it remains unproven. Apart from the claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, which are clearly in need of corroboration, the belief in the sectarian nature of the early Ch'an school rests almost entirely on the perception of it as a radical protest movement. Studies in the sociology of religion, however, have shown that protests in the areas of doctrine and cult do not necessarily result in schisms leading to the formation of new, sectarian communities. Historically, such protests have often been accomodated within, or succeeded in transforming, existing ecclesiastical bodies.[34] It cannot be assumed, on the basis of historical sources which depict T'ang Ch'an masters as taking an iconoclastic stance toward traditional forms of Buddhist scholasticism, ritual or discipline, that such masters and their students shunned existing Buddhist monastic institutions and formed their own independent ones. The question of early Ch'an's relation to the established ecclesiastical order can only be resolved on the basis of concrete evidence pertaining to such matters as the ordination and training of Ch'an school monks, their status within the Buddhist clerical hierarchy, and the actual arrangement of the communities in which they resided. Concrete evidence of this sort has yet to be marshalled in support of the

theory of independent Ch'an institutions. The fact of the matter is that we have no clear idea of the institutional settings in which the T'ang Ch'an masters promulgated their teachings. Equally problematic is the notion that certain forms of practice, such as "communal meditation, active debate between master and disciples, frugality, and manual labor,"[35] or certain types of facilities, such as Dharma halls, were "characteristic" of T'ang Ch'an monastic organization. Even if it were demonstrated using corroborative sources dating from the T'ang that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* gives an accurate representation of the monasteries in which Pai-chang and the other Hung-chou masters flourished -- and this remains to be done -- it would still be premature to regard the text as reflecting the "distinctive characteristics" of T'ang Ch'an monasticism. Before we can legitimately speak of monastic forms that are unique to or characteristic of the early Ch'an school, it is necessary to compare nominally "Ch'an" modes of monastic organization and practice with those of the mainstream Buddhist monastic tradition in the T'ang. Although, as we shall see, there is a wealth of historical source materials pertaining to that tradition, no comparative study of features of ostensibly "Ch'an" monastic organization and practice with those of "non-Ch'an" Buddhist monasticism has ever been made. The reason for the conspicuous lack of scholarly interest in comparative research of this sort, I would submit, is simply that the belief in the sectarian nature of the early Ch'an school is so strong that Vinaya texts and other "non-Ch'an" materials relating to Buddhist monasticism are regarded as irrelevant to the evolution of Ch'an institutional forms.

The assumption of Ch'an sectarianism also underlies the description of the Sung monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*) as "distinctively Ch'an" rules. There are two problems with this characterization. The first, which may perhaps be dismissed as a matter of semantics, is that nominally "Ch'an" codes in the Sung and Yüan dynasties were not in the least bit distinctive. They were, in fact, the standard guidelines used for regulating vir-

tually all Buddhist monasteries, even those few which were not identified as "Ch'an monasteries" (*ch'an-yüan*), but as "Vinaya monasteries" (*lü-ssu*) and "Teachings (i.e. T'ien-t'ai) monasteries" (*chiao-ssu*).[36] The second, more serious problem is that the Sung and Yüan monastic codes, while claiming to carry on the tradition founded by Pai-chang, actually contain a great many elements that can be traced back to earlier Buddhist (not uniquely "Ch'an") monastic rules.

Until a broad comparative study of nominally "Ch'an" codes with earlier "non-Ch'an" monastic rules is made, there can be no grounds for claiming that the former were in any way distinctive, or that they evolved from earlier T'ang Ch'an codes which are no longer in existence. Again, comparative research of this sort has been all but completely neglected. It is taken as an article of faith that Sung "Ch'an" monastic institutions evolved directly and independently from a T'ang Ch'an prototype.

On the basis of research and documents available to us, and the arguments developed in the present disertation, I submit that Sung Ch'an institutions were anything but sectarian. In the first place, the Ch'an school in the Sung lacked the element of protest against a dominant ecclesiastical tradition that is definitive of a sect. Indeed, by the twelfth century the Ch'an school was itself firmly entrenched as the dominant, orthodox tradition of monastic Buddhism, with imperial support and a status approaching that of a state religion. Moreover, an examination of the Sung monastic codes and other historical sources reveals that Sung Ch'an monasticism was highly syncretic. It incorporated various elements of religious practice associated with the Vinaya, Pure Land, Hua-yen, and Esoteric traditions as well as elements usually deemed "characteristic" of Ch'an, such as manual labor, communal meditation and debate between a master and his disciples. Far from maintaining a posture of sectarian protest and separatism, the Ch'an school accomodated and embraced the whole of the Buddhist tradition -- or was swallowed up in it -- so that by the Ming dynasty (1368-

1644) scarcely any distinction remained between "Ch'an Buddhism" and "Chinese Buddhism."

There are, I would suggest, several ways in which we might try to explain the process by which Sung Ch'an monasticism evolved. One hypothesis would be that the more radical branches of Ch'an in the T'ang carried out their protests *within* the traditional Buddhist institutional framework, left their mark on doctrine and practice, and then lost their protestant fervor and took a more conventional stance as they consolidated their position as the dominant school of Chinese Buddhism in the Sung. This would explain how the "recorded sayings" and hagiographies of the Hung-chou masters, with all of their radical sounding rhetoric and seemingly iconoclastic behavior, came to be enshrined in the Sung as the orthodox literature of a conservative Ch'an school. Or, as a variation of this scenario, perhaps less radical elements in the T'ang Ch'an tradition (those deriving from the so-called Northern school, for example, or the Ho-tse school as Tsung-mi represented it) were able to reassert themselves in the Sung, albeit under the banner of their erstwhile rivals. Another, equally viable hypothesis would be that the early Ch'an protest did in fact result in a split from the mainstream of Buddhist institutional organization around the time of Pai-chang, but that unity was restored by the Sung. A final hypothesis might be that Sung Ch'an monasticism evolved directly from an independent system of Ch'an monasticism in the T'ang, and simply grew into the dominant Buddhist institutional form in China without ever absorbing anything from the earlier monastic tradition that it replaced. This is, in fact, the prevailing scholarly view, but it rests on little more than the assumption that the Ch'an school was a sectarian entity throughout the course of its development.

I believe that the first of these hypotheses is the most plausible, but it is not the aim of the present dissertation to decide the question of the origins of Sung Ch'an monasticism. I have raised the issue here because modern historians, acting on the assumption that Sung Ch'an institutions evolved directly

from a T'ang "Ch'an" prototype, have tried to use Sung Ch'an monastic codes as a starting point for reconstructing the arrangement of Ch'an institutions in the T'ang. Such an approach assumes the very thing that needs to be proved: the existence of sectarian "Ch'an" monasteries prior to the Sung.

The Aims and Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation represents an attempt to study "early Ch'an monastic institutions" from two different, though finally inseparable, perspectives: the history of religious institutions, and the history of religious ideas.

I am concerned, in the first place, with discovering the actual arrangement of Ch'an monasteries in the T'ang, if indeed they can be shown to have existed, and with the nature of the nominally "Ch'an" monastic institutions that unquestionably existed in the Sung. The basic question here, which belongs to the history of Ch'an institutions, is whether or not the Ch'an school ever constituted a "sect" in the sense that was defined above.

One of my primary aims in this dissertation, in fact, is to demonstrate that this question still needs to be asked, and that a institutional history of early Ch'an still needs to be written. As we have seen, the classical (Sung) Ch'an historiography answered the question to its own satisfaction by claiming that Pai-chang had founded an independent system of Ch'an monastic training. Modern historians, too, disagree only as to when and how the early Ch'an school emerged as a sectarian entity with its own distinctive institutions. In order to sustain the question of the Ch'an school's sectarianism, therefore, it will be necessary to show that both the classical and the modern historiography are somehow untrustworthy, biased, or methodologically flawed.

Partially in response to this requirement, major portions of the dissertation are given over to the task of reviewing and criticizing the entire field of Ch'an historiography, ancient and modern. My intention, however, is not simply to call

the findings of previous scholarship on the institutional history of Ch'an into question. I also want to explain why, in the absence of what I consider sufficient (or sufficiently mobilized) evidence, historians both ancient and modern have persisted in the belief in uniquely "Ch'an" forms of monastic organization and practice.

In doing so I adopt the second of the two perspectives mentioned above, namely, the standpoint of the history of religious ideas. It is my contention that the Pai-chang story and associated beliefs regarding the origins and nature of early Ch'an monasticism should be studied not only as historical claims to be substantiated or invalidated on the basis of concrete evidence, but also as religious doctrines which have a significance quite apart from their historicity. Now, when the beliefs in question are found in a Sung text such as the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, it is not difficult to entertain the possibility that they reflect certain religious or political concerns that were current in the Sung. As I have already suggested, the Pai-chang story served the ideological needs of the Ch'an school in the Sung, and helped that school define itself as a distinct entity within Chinese Buddhism as a whole. I also intend to show, however, that similar ideological needs, inherited along with the Sung conception of the "Ch'an school," have continued to influence the methods and findings of modern Japanese Zen scholarship on the institutional history of Ch'an. That scholarship, we shall see, has led the way in defining the "history of Ch'an school" (*zenshū shi*) as a field of modern academic research.

The question of the Ch'an school's place in the Buddhist monastic tradition hinges on how the "Ch'an school" is conceived as an object of historical inquiry. If the "Ch'an school" is defined at the outset of research as an independent religious sect or denomination that arose in China, then the historian's first task is to ascertain whether or not such an entity ever had a concrete existence. The possibility would have to be admitted, in other words, that the "Ch'an school" so

defined is an empty concept, something that exists in name only. If, however, the "Ch'an school" is defined in some way that leaves its relationship to the mainstream of Chinese Buddhist monasticism undetermined, then the historian's task would be rather different. Having affirmed the existence of a "Ch'an school" -- defined, for example, as a group of persons who held certain doctrines or practices in common -- he would proceed to investigate its social and institutional structure.

In the present dissertation, I take both of these approaches. On the one hand, I call into question the accepted definition of the early Ch'an school as a sect, concluding that this conception of Ch'an, while religiously and politically potent, is historically unfounded. On the other hand, I offer a different definition of the "Ch'an school," one that leaves the question of its institutional arrangements open, and attempt to answer that question by reexamining the existing historical data from this new perspective.

Not all definitions of the "Ch'an school," of course, involve the notion of independent monastic institutions. Indeed, as shall be amply illustrated in Part One of this dissertation, ancient and modern historians have conceived of the "Ch'an school" in so many ways that the field of "the history of the Ch'an school" (*zenshū shi*) today is in a state of considerable confusion. One of the important aims of Part One is to sort out what different historians have meant by the "Ch'an school," thereby pointing the way to a new functional definition that may serve the needs of an institutional history.

Part One of the dissertation is entitled "Conceptions of the Ch'an School." In it I trace the evolution of the *concept* of the "Ch'an school" from ancient times down to the present, and examine the ways in which the belief in independent "Ch'an" monastic institutions is related to various formulations of that concept. Part Two is entitled "Towards an Institutional History of Early Ch'an." In it I try to establish a method for working through and getting "behind" the biased Sung historiography in order to resolve the fundamental question of the early

Ch'an school's place in the Buddhist monastic tradition. In Part Two I also review the methods and findings of existing scholarship on the institutional history of Ch'an, and examine the evidence of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in detail.

In a sense it could be said that Part One is more concerned with the history of ideas, while Part Two deals more with concrete questions of institutional history. Nevertheless, because the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and other sources for the history of early Ch'an institutions are replete with mythological elements and ideological biases, and because the ideology formulated in those sources must itself be interpreted in the context of its own concrete historical setting (namely, the Buddhist monastic institutions of Sung China), the dividing line between intellectual history and institutional history in the study of the early Ch'an school is anything but clear and simple. The question that haunts the study of "early Ch'an monastic institutions" at every turn is the degree to which the object of investigation was a concrete historical entity, and the degree to which it was a myth nurtured by the Sung Ch'an historiographers.

Notes to the General Introduction

1 This position was first taken by Ui Hakuju, and has since been endorsed by many other scholars; see pp. 10–11 below.

2 Yanagida Seizan, for example, takes this position; see pp. 9–10 below.

3 A review of existing scholarship on the question of Pai-chang's rules may be found in Chapter Seven under the heading "Early Ch'an Monastic Rules."

4 The expression "*ch'an* cloister" (*ch'an-yüan*) does appear quite often in sources that can be dated to the T'ang and earlier, but in most cases it is clear that the reference is to special facilities for meditation (*ch'an*), and in no case is there any clear evidence that the reference is to a sectarian "Ch'an" monastery; this issue is discussed in Chapter Eight under the heading "The Claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*."

5 These sources are discussed in Chapter Three undering the heading "Ch'an Monastic Codes."

6 Editions of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (*Zennen shingi*) may be found in ZZ 2-16-5; *Sōtōshū zensho*, *Shingi*, pp. 867–934; *Kanazawa bunkoshi zensho*, Zenseki hen; for a critical edition and annotated Japanese translation, see Kagamishima, Satō and Kosaka, eds. and trans., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*.

7 Although the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (introduced in the following paragraph) is appended to Pai-chang's biography in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, Pai-chang's role as the founder of a system of Ch'an monastic training is not mentioned in the biography itself (T 51, no. 2076, pp. 249b–250c); nor is that role mentioned in an earlier biography of Pai-chang found in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sodōshū*, pp. 271a–276a); the evidence of Pai-chang's stupa inscription, which does suggest that Pai-chang may have left some rules for a community of monks (but not necessarily a "Ch'an" community), is discussed in Chapter Eight under the heading "The Claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*."

8 The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is found, among other places, appended to the biography of Pai-chang in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51, no. 2076, pp. 250c–251b), which was compiled in 1004. A detailed study of the various redactions and pericopes of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is presented in Chapter Eight.

9 One of the important claims made in the *Ch'an-men*

kuei-shih was that prior to Pai-chang, Ch'an monks lived in monasteries regulated by the traditional Vinaya rules; see Chapter Eight under the heading "The Claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*."

10 Scholars have argued that the Ch'an school began as a group of wandering ascetics; see pp. 11-12 below.

11 Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," in *Philosophy East and West* III (no. 1, April, 1953), p. 17.

12 Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review* XV (no. 4, Jan., 1932), p. 485.

The driving force behind the Ch'an "revolt," and the "real mission of Chinese Ch'an," according to Hu Shih, was "intellectual emancipation" ("Ch'an [Zen] Buddhism in China," p. 19). By this he means a rational, commonsensical emancipation from all "superstitious" beliefs in Buddhas, bodhisattvas, magical powers, charms and spells on the one hand, and from "unintelligible metaphysics" and pedantic scholasticism on the other. Pragmatism of this sort is regarded by Hu Shih as fundamental to the "Chinese mentality," which he believes reasserted itself in the Ch'an movement to cast off the "bewilderment and confusion" that had resulted from embracing Indian Buddhism ("Development of Zen Buddhism in China," pp. 481 ff.).

13 Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, p. 78. Wright's analysis is similar to Hu Shih's in that he sees the Ch'an movement as a Chinese reaction against Indian Buddhism, but it differs fundamentally in its assessment of the "Chinese mentality." In Wright's view, it was not Chinese rationalism or pragmatism that reacted against Indian Buddhist metaphysics and gave birth to Ch'an, but rather a Taoistic mentality characterized by a "distrust of words... rich store of concrete metaphor and analogy... love of paradox... bibliophobia... belief in the direct, person-to-person, and often wordless communication of insight, [and]... feeling that life led in close communion with nature is conducive to enlightenment..." (ibid.).

14 Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no goroku* vol. 2, *Shoki no zenshi: 1*, p. 4.

15 Ibid.

16 Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, p. 11.

17 Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: An Historical Survey*, pp. 362-363.

18 D.T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), pp. 39-228. Suzuki is in agreement with Hu Shih insofar as he holds that the Ch'an movement was a product of the "practical" Chinese mentality, reacting against the abstract speculation of Indian Buddhism ("Zen: A Reply to Hu Shih," in *Philosophy East and West* III [no. 1, April, 1953], pp. 40-41). He takes Hu Shih

severely to task, however, for failing to realize that Ch'an did not throw the baby of "*prajñā*-intuition" or "Zen experience" or "enlightenment," which is the "very essence of Buddhism," out with the bath of Indian Buddhist philosophy ("A Reply to Hu Shih," pp. 25-46, passim).

19 Jan Yün-hua, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," in *T'oung Pao* LVIII (Leiden, 1972), p. 4. Jan writes:

> Comparing Tsung-mi's presentation of Ch'an Buddhism with most of the publications on Ch'an in Western languages, one cannot but think that Ch'an Buddhism in China during the VIIIth and IXth centuries was much richer and varied than it seems. The difference is due to the later history of the school: the later sects, known as "the Five Houses" or "Seven Sub-Sects", were developed from only one or two of the early sects. The anti-traditional, anti-textual and anti-institutional tendency had not yet become dominant in "Middle Ch'an", but was only part of a complex development. The radical aspect of Ch'an Buddhism is over-emphasized in most of the current writings on the topic. The reason for this over-balance is partly due to the influence of later Ch'an ideology, partly to current religious sentiment, i.e., a rebellious spirit against tradition and authority (ibid, p. 32).

By "Middle Ch'an" Jan means Ch'an in the eighth and ninth centuries (ibid., p. 4). The "one or two sects" of this period which emerged as the dominant schools of Ch'an in the latter half of the ninth century, and spawned what came to be known to later Ch'an historians as the "five houses" (*wu-chia*) were, of course, the two lineages which traced themselves back to the sixth ancestor Hui-neng, through Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744) and Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu (d. 740), respectively. The "anti-traditional, anti-textual and anti-institutional tendency" of these two branches of Middle Ch'an certainly became a dominant element in Five Dynasties (907-960) and Sung dynasty (960-1280) Ch'an *ideology*. As Jan suggests, this ideology, and the factional interests which it served, exerted a powerful influence on all subsequent historical studies of T'ang Ch'an. For it was during the Five Dynasties and the Sung that the biographies and recorded verbal teachings of T'ang Ch'an masters which thereafter became the orthodox "histories" of the Ch'an school were compiled. This fact raises an important point, however: the vehicle for the transmission of the "anti-textual," "anti-institutional" doctrine from the Five Dynasties onward was precisely an institutionalized, orthodox textual tradition.

20 This is a phenomemon generally thought to have begun with what Tsung-mi termed the "Hung-chou" lineage deriving from Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788), a disciple of Nan-yüeh (Yanagida Seizan, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," in IBK 18.1 [Dec., 1969], pp. 39-40; idem, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," trans. by John R. McRae, in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an*, pp. 186-192.

21 Bryan R. Wilson, "Religious Organizations," in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* vol. 13, p. 434.

22 Yanagida Seizan, "Baso zen no sho mondai," in IBK, 17.1 (Dec., 1968), p. 33.

23 Ibid, p. 34.

24 Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," in Nishitani Keiji, ed., *Kōza zen* vol. 3, *Zen no rekishi: Chūgoku*, p. 58.

25 Yanagida, "Baso zen no sho mondai," p. 33.

26 Ui Hakuju, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, pp. 81–90.

27 Ibid, p. 88. Similar views are expressed by: Ōishi Shuyū, "Ko shingi ni tsuite," in *Zengaku kenkyū* 44 (Oct., 1953), p. 81; Kosaka Kiyū, "Shingi hensen no teiryū," in *Shūgaku kenkyū* 5 (April, 1963), p. 125; Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen zenji to *Hyakujō shingi*," in *Dōgen zenji to sono in'yō kyōten, goroku no kenkyū*, p. 81.

28 Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, pp. 8–9.

29 Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 3–4.

30 Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," in *Kōza zen* vol. 3, *Zen no rekishi: Chūgoku*, p. 7.

31 Yanagida writes: "Nowadays, '*shū*' 宗 is taken to mean 'sect' (*sekuto*). This assumes [that a '*shū*' takes] the standpoint of a new creation, based on its own original experience which negates all preexistent organization and values. The formation of the *zenshū* as a 'separate transmission outside the teachings' (*kyōge betsuden*) means that the Chinese cast away the borrowed clothing they had been given by the Indians, and created a wardrobe that fit their own constitution" (*Zen no goroku* vol. 2, *Shoki no zenshi: 1*, p. 4).

32 Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 57.

33 Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, p. 134.

34 See, for example, Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 166–205.

35 See citation of Collcutt (*Five Mountains*, p. 134) on pp. 13–14 above.

36 All of the Buddhist monastic codes that have come down to us from the Sung and Yüan dynasties describe (or rather, prescribe rules for) fundamentally the same institutional structure; see Chapter Three under the heading "Ch'an Monastic Codes."

PART ONE

CONCEPTIONS OF THE CH'AN SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION

The study of the history of the Ch'an school in T'ang China is beset with a singular difficulty: a paucity of textual sources that may be considered primary in the ideal sense of comprising raw, uninterpreted data contemporaneous with the phenomena under investigation. Most of the documents and memorial inscriptions on which modern historians must rely for knowledge of the early (pre-Sung) Ch'an school are the works of ancient Ch'an school historiographers. In other words, even the primary sources available to the modern researcher already appear in the form of partisan histories. They are records of bygone persons and events that have been selectively compiled and edited, organized in chronological order, and presented with implicit claims as to their significance and factuality. The fundamental methodological problem that faces the modern researcher, therefore, is how to balance the ancient histories against each other in such a way that their biases can be neutralized and an objective point of view on the events they depict can be established.

Largely because the Zen school (*zenshū*) in Japan is a living tradition which has a vital interest in the interpretation of its own history, the field of Ch'an and Zen studies has been dominated by Japanese scholarship. When the modern critical study of early Ch'an began in Japan in the first decades of this century, scholars tended to view the origins and development of the Ch'an school through the eyes of its classical historiographers, the Sung Chinese compilers of what (in the 1920's) were the oldest known Ch'an histories. The early researchers were not so naive as to accept the historicity of all that they found in the Sung histories, the oldest of which was

the *Ching-te ch'uang-teng lu* (*The Ching-te Era Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*), compiled in 1004, but they had very few independent sources that would allow them to critically evaluate the Sung accounts. The only available source that provided a check on the *Ching-te ch'uang-teng lu* was the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (*Additional Biographies of Eminent Monks*), first completed in 645, with subsequent additions made until the author Tao-hsüan's death in 667. The writings of Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841) on the history of Ch'an were known, but their importance was obscured by Tsung-mi's reputation within the Japanese Zen tradition as the proponent of a discredited doctrinal position (namely *kyōzen itchi* -- the "unity of Zen and the scriptural teachings"), and it was not until after 1939 that they began to receive much scholarly attention.[1]

The breakthrough that allowed the modern study of early Ch'an to begin to extricate itself from the point of view of the Sung historiographers came with the discovery of a number of texts among the Tun-huang manuscripts that directly contradicted the Sung accounts of the early Ch'an lineage, such as: the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* (*Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure*), composed about 712; the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* (*Record of Masters and Disciples of the Lankāvatāra*), written sometime between 712 and 741; the records of the teachings of Ho-tse Shen-hui (670-762); and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (*Record of Successive Generations of the Dharma Treasure*), composed around 780.[2] The comparative study of these sources and other related sources, we shall see, has revealed the mythological nature of the Sung account of the early Ch'an school, and has shed a great deal of light on the myth-making process itself.

The Tun-huang texts dating from the eighth century, of course, are scarcely relevant when it comes to evaluating claims made in the Sung histories about the development of the Ch'an school from the ninth century on. Works such as the rediscovered *Pao-lin chuan* (*The Pao-lin [Monastery] Record*), completed 801, and the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (*Ancestors' Hall Collection*), written in 952,[3] have been profitably used to counterbalance

accounts found in the *Ching-te ch'uang-teng lu* and later Sung histories, but their value in this respect is limited because they are the ideological forerunners of the very school of Ch'an historiography that became dominant in the Sung.

Of greatest significance for the present study is the fact that there are no sources whatsoever dating from the T'ang that directly support or contradict the Sung historioraphers' claims that Pai-chang founded the first independent Ch'an monastery. In the absence of any dramatic controverting evidence similar in impact to the Tun-huang material, the Sung account of early Ch'an monastic institutions has continued to strongly influence the way in which scholars today view the history of the early Ch'an school.

Even when all the pertinent texts discovered in this century are taken into consideration, the historian is still left with the fundamental methodological problem described above. Although the Tun-huang texts are closer in time to the persons and events they purport to chronicle than the Sung histories, they too are mainly partisan histories. At the points where they disagree with the Sung histories and with each other, it is relatively easy for the historian to discover and distance himself from their biases. What has proved much more difficult for modern researchers is utilizing the Sung and Tun-huang histories as sources for the history of the early Ch'an school without unconsciously accepting the basic conceptual framework that is common to all of them: the notion that the object of the historian's concern is properly a "lineage" (*tsung*, *shū*) of "Dharma inheritance."

In introducing the topic of the dissertation up to this point, I have been using the expression "Ch'an school" as a translation of the Chinese term *ch'an-tsung* (Japanese *zenshū*). This term may also be rendered as "Ch'an lineage." I cannot speak with certainty for others, but it seems to me that in most cases when specialists writing in English refer to the "Ch'an school" or "Ch'an sect," they too have the Sino-Japanese term in mind. This is only natural, since researchers in the

field deal chiefly with classical Chinese sources, and are generally tuned in to issues and arguments raised in Japanese secondary sources. However, if we are thinking "*tsung*" (*shū*) when we write "school" or "sect," then it behooves us, just as it behooves our Chinese and Japanese colleagues, to clarify the meaning of "*tsung*" (*shū*), and carefully define our use of it. By the same token, if we mean something else by "Ch'an school" or "Ch'an sect," we should define our terms and explain how they differ from those used in Chinese and Japanese historiography. The English words "school" and "sect" are are themselves, of course, rich with associations deriving from Western languages and cultures. The term "sect," moreover, has been more narrowly defined by sociologists of religion as a specific type of religious organization.

I shall, at the end of this first part of the dissertation (in Chapter Five) offer my own functional definition of the "Ch'an school." In the meantime, the reader may assume that whenever I speak of the "Ch'an school" or the "Ch'an lineage," I am still using the language of Japanese scholarship.

The problem, as we shall see in the discussion of "Modern Conceptions of the Ch'an School" in Chapter Five, is that the term *zenshū* as it is currently employed in Japanese scholarship is ambiguous, and loaded with associations that derive not only from its appearance in a wide variety of classical Chinese Buddhist texts, but also from its use as a designation for various religious organizations in pre-modern and modern Japan. Accordingly, one line of inquiry that is followed in this first part of the dissertation is to investigate the meaning of the term "Ch'an (Zen) school" (*ch'an-tsung*; *zenshū*) itself as it is used in various contexts -- by historians today, in Sung documents, and in documents that can be dated as far back as the T'ang or earlier. Philological groundwork of this sort is necessary not only for the sake of interpreting the classical texts that are the primary sources for the study of the history of Ch'an, but also to clarify what we ourselves have in mind when we conceive of the "Ch'an school" (or simply "Ch'an" with a capital "C") as

a topic of historical inquiry.

The root meaning of the word *tsung* in classical Chinese is "ancestor." The same word also indicates the manner of relating to ancestral spirits, which is to "honor," "follow," or "worship" them. It comes by extension to designate a "clan" united by descent from and worship of a common ancestor, that is, a genealogical (and religious) "lineage." Descent from an ancestor can be understood literally, in terms of blood lines, or metaphorically, in which case it may be a particular skill or teaching that is conceived as being inherited and passed down through the generations. When used in the latter sense *tsung* can be rendered as "school," although the English term does not adequately capture the sense of filial reverence and obligation felt towards the ancestral founder that is conveyed by the Chinese. *Tsung* can indicate a "class" or "kind," which is to say, a set of kindred objects patterned after a common archetype. Finally, in Buddhist Chinese at least, *tsung* in some contexts has the meaning of "principles" or "purport" or "teachings."

The modern scholarly use of the term *ch'an-tsung*, I shall argue, has its origins in Sung Ch'an historiography. There, in "transmission of the lamp histories" such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, the term refers to an extended "Ch'an clan," a multi-branched "Ch'an lineage," comprised of all the spiritual heirs of the "ancestral teacher" (*tsu-shih*) Bodhidharma, an Indian monk who is portrayed as a direct spiritual descendant (in the twenty-eighth generation) of the Buddha Śākyamuni. In this context, membership in the Ch'an lineage is defined in terms of inheriting Śākyamuni's Dharma -- his "teachings," or rather, his wisdom -- by reliving his experience of enlightenment.

Within the Ch'an tradition, "Dharma inheritance" (*ssu-fa*) and "Dharma transmission" (*ch'uan-fa*) have often been explained as a meeting of minds, an awakening on the part of a disciple to the same ineffable intuitive insight as that achieved by his master, or even (as a logical extension of this) "no transmission" at all.[4] Thus the tradition itself, while insinuating a conventional sort of historicity for its lineages, clearly re-

gards Dharma transmission as an essentially supra-historical event, or rather, an event which takes place on the plane of spiritual history. It should be clear from this that, when they appear in classical Ch'an historiography, the concepts of Dharma transmission and "lineages" (*tsung*, or *hsüeh-me* -- literally "blood lines") must be regarded primarily as categories of *religious* understanding, or doctrine.

It may have been doctrinally appealing or politically expedient for the Sung compilers of Ch'an genealogies to leave the distinction between spiritual (historians would perhaps say "mythical") and worldly ("factual") history unclear. Modern researchers, however, need to be especially cautious and critical in drawing such distinctions if they wish to adopt the concept of Dharma lineages as a workable historiographical category. As a religious concept, certainly, "Dharma inheritance" is factual grist for the mill of the history of religions. "Dharma" in this conception, it could be said, represents the sacred. Quasi-historical records of "Dharma transmission" are sacred histories (myths) -- records of the periodic manifestation of the sacred (hierophanies) in the world of men. But incidents of Dharma transmission recorded in the classical historiography should not be treated by modern historians as facts on the order of births, deaths, or meetings between persons. Claims that Dharma transmission took place, or the granting of certificates and the like to symbolize Dharma transmission, of course, are facts of the sort that historians legitimately deal with. The literal truth or falsity of such claims and symbols (i.e. the question of whether or not "Dharma transmission" -- an individual's enlightenment -- actually took place), however, is a matter entirely beyond the scope of critical historiography.

The concrete arrangement of lineage groupings (*tsung*; *shū*) is a matter of fundamental concern to the historical study of Ch'an, and indeed that of Far Eastern Buddhism in general, for these groupings have traditionally been regarded as the basic divisions and sub-divisions within the Buddhist order, and continue to be so regarded by scholars today. When expressions

such as *ch'an-tsung* ("Ch'an lineage"), *nan-tsung* ("Southern lineage") or *Lin-chi-tsung* ("Lin-chi lineage") appear in a classical text, I want to ask, do they refer to distinct, organized religious bodies such as could properly be called "sects" or "denominations," or do they refer to what we might call "schools of thought," that is, groups unified by adherence to common teachings or religious practices, but lacking an independent institutional structure? Or, indeed, do they refer to concrete historical entities at all? As I have already pointed out, the concept of "Dharma inheritance" which is used to define a *tsung* or lineage grouping is essentially a category of religious thought. We should be mindful of the possibility that the term *tsung* in a given context might refer to something that, from the point of view of critical historiography, was a purely mythological or conceptual entity.

In order to understand the significance of the religious concept of "Dharma lineage" in the Ch'an tradition, it will be necessary to examine the etymology and metaphorical imagery associated with the terms *tsung* and *ch'an-tsung* as they appear in the classical historiography. At this level of inquiry, for example, it has already been noted that the theoretical model, or basic metaphor, for lineage groupings in Sung Ch'an texts is that of the multi-branched family tree. As we shall see, the development of this metaphor may be traced from certain T'ang texts in which lineages of Dharma inheritance from Bodhidharma are depicted in unilinear fashion, as a kind of spiritual primogeniture.

There is, however, another side to the study of the term "Ch'an lineage" as a religious symbol that is also pursued in this first part of the dissertation: the function of that symbol as a rallying point around which a concrete religious association could form. In this connection, the question of when the self-conscious sense of belonging to a "Ch'an lineage" first emerged among Chinese Buddhists is addressed.

One of the overall aims of Part One is to elucidate the process by which the modern critical study of the history of

the Ch'an school has grown out of the classical (Sung) Ch'an historiography, and has attempted with varying degrees of success to gain critical distance from the points of view taken in the primary sources. I am particularly concerned with examining the ways in which scholars today have tried to define the early Ch'an school as a subject of historical inquiry, and with analyzing how those definitions are grounded in or justified by appeal to classical Ch'an historiography. Another important aim of Part One is to arrive at a working definition of the "Ch'an school" that avoids the pitfalls of following the classical historiography too closely, and provides an unambiguous starting point for investigating the question of the institutional disposition of early Ch'an Buddhism in Part Two.

Chapter One gives a very brief account of the origins of the modern study of the "history of the Ch'an lineage," with attention to the question of why the field was first defined as it was. Chapter Two then jumps to a discussion of the Sung historiography that provided the starting point for modern researchers, and examines the Sung conception of the "Ch'an lineage." Chapter Three continues in the same vein with a treatment of the Sung conception of nominally "Ch'an" monastic institutions. The same chapter also examines the concrete arrangement of nominally "Ch'an" institutions in the Sung, and concludes that there was considerable dissonance between the way in which those institutions were conceived and the objective facts of their organization and function. In Chapter Four there is another jump back in time, to explore the origins and development of the Sung conception of the "Ch'an lineage" by looking for precedents in pre-Sung sources. Chapter Five, finally, comes full circle with a critique of the ways in which modern scholars conceive of the Ch'an school and its history. In it I also introduce a working definition of the "Ch'an school" for use in Part Two of this dissertation.

Notes to the Introduction

[1] 1939 was the year when Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan chi tu-hsü* was first published in Japan, in an annotated edition by Ui Hakuju ("Hashigaki," in Kamata Shigeo, *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 1).

[2] These texts are discussed in Chapter Four, under the heading "The T'ang 'Lamp Histories'."

[3] These texts are discussed in Chapter Four.

[4] Such an interpretation of Dharma transmission is found, for example, in the famous sixth case of the *Wu-men-kuan* (T 48, no. 2005, p. 293c): the Buddha held up a flower to instruct the assembly, and all remained silent (i.e. they were incapable of grasping the teaching and responding appropriately) except Mahākāśyapa, who smiled; the Buddha then announced that he was passing on to Mahākāśyapa as a "separate transmission outside the teachings," his formless teaching, which is the "eye that sees the true Dharma, the wonderful mind of nirvana." Wu-men's commentary to this koan asks, rhetorically, how such a transmission is possible; it is inconceivable, he suggests -- yet no less an authority than the Buddha says it takes place. For a modern Japanese Rinzai Zen master's reassertion of "the fact of Dharma transmission in Zen from a Master to his disciple," coupled with the clear statement that this "fact" is on the order of religious experience rather than historical data, and that "transmission" does not take place in ordinary time or space, see Zenkei Shibayama, *Zen Comments on the Mumonkan* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 60-61. Other examples of the notion that true Dharma transmission is a "non-transmission," and that indeed there is "no Dharma" to transmit, may be found in the transmission verses attributed to the Indian Ch'an ancestors in Sung "lamp histories" such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51, no. 2076, pp. 206b ff.)

See Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, pp. 257, 461-465, for a discussion of the development and "revolutionary" significance of the doctrine of "direct transmission" (*tan-ch'uan*) in the Southern school of Ch'an.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS OF THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE CH'AN SCHOOL

The modern study of the history of the Ch'an (Zen) school began in Japan in the early part of the twentieth century, as the result of the confluence of two very different traditions. One of those traditions was that of the Japanese Zen school, which had carefully preserved (as orthodox doctrine) the historiographical lore of its progenitor, the Ch'an Buddhism of Sung dynasty China. The other tradition was that of early modern European scholarship, with its concern for objective, scientific inquiry and critical methodology.

The meeting and merging of these two traditions occurred in a roundabout way. The initial exposure of Far Eastern students of Buddhism to Western scholarship took place around the end of the nineteenth century, when a number of young Japanese studied Indic languages and Indian Buddhism under the guidance of European philologists. They eagerly embraced nineteenth century Western text criticism, but they were also exposed to some Western prejudices that were prevalent at the time. One such prejudice was a notion that the only pure or genuine Buddhism was the Buddhism of ancient India. Another was a negative attitude towards supposedly superstitious and degenerate elements, such as polytheism, devotional cult, and magic, in later Mahāyāna Buddhism. Some of the new breed of Japanese scholars accepted these prejudices, or at least shied away from confronting them, and concentrated solely on the field of Indian Buddhism. Others, however, began to turn to the critical study -- and defense -- of their native religion, the Mahāyāna Buddhism

of the Far East.

Among the Japanese scholars who took up this challenge, the one who was to gain the most international reknown was Suzuki Daisetsu (1870-1966). Although he is remembered in the West today as the popularizer of Zen Buddhism, Suzuki's formal academic training was in Indian Buddhism. His scholarly interest in Zen Buddhism had its roots in a personal religious avocation, awakened in his student days when he trained as a lay practitioner at a Rinzai Zen monastery in Kamakura. Suzuki was one of the pioneers of the critical study of texts related to the early history of Ch'an. He also contributed greatly to the advancement of the study of the Indian Mahāyāna. The latter effort was in keeping with his earnest desire to prove that Zen was a legitimate spiritual heir to the Indian Buddhist tradition.

Within Japanese academic circles, Ui Hakuju (1882-1963) stands out as another scholar whose extensive studies did much to define the new field of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū shi*) as it came to be called. Ui's formal academic training (which included stints in England, Germany, and India) was in the field of Indian philosophy, and he continued to work in that field even after turning his attention to the critical study of early Ch'an texts. Ui's interest in the history of Ch'an, like Suzuki's, stemmed from a personal involvement in Japanese Zen. He was ordained as a monk of the Sōtō school of Zen as an adolescent, and went on to succeed his teacher as the resident priest of a Sōtō Zen temple in Aichi Prefecture. Academically, too, Ui had close ties with Sōtō Zen, teaching in and eventually becoming president of that denomination's university (now called Komazawa University) in Tokyo.

Suzuki, Ui, and other Japanese pioneers of the modern study of the history of Ch'an were, by profession and intellectual inclination, essentially Western style academicians. In their upbringing, personal religious convictions and/or institutional affiliations, however, many were Zen Buddhists. This is not to say that these scholars-cum-Zennists were simply apologists for

the Japanese Zen tradition. Certainly they embraced the ideal of scientific objectivity, and did their best to live up to it. Nevertheless, the intimate knowledge they had of the Zen tradition could not but influence the approach they took as historians. In particular, it led them to adopt the Japanese Zen school's traditional account of its own origins (that is, the account formulated by Ch'an monk historians in the Sung) as a starting point, and to try to verify that account using the methods of critical historiography. In essence, their approach was to retain the traditional account whenever it held up to critical scrutiny, and to revise it as necessary whenever there was undeniable evidence of myth making or wilfull distortion of historical fact.

Suzuki, for one, made his adoption of this approach quite explicit. In the introduction to an essay entitled "History of Zen Buddhism from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng (A.D. 520-713)," which was written for a Western audience in 1927, Suzuki stated:

> My intention here is not to make a thoroughly critical and scientific study of the history of Zen Buddhism; for this presupposes some knowledge of the development of Buddhism in China, and there are, as far as my knowledge extends, no text-books on the subject, which are accessible to readers of this book. The main object of the present Essay will therefore be to acquaint them first with the traditional history of Zen as it is told by its followers both in Japan and China. Its critical investigation will follow when readers are in a degree prepared for the task.[1]

At the time when Suzuki wrote these remarks, most of the Tun-huang manuscripts that were to revolutionize the study of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" had not yet come to the attention of scholars in the field. Tsung-mi's writings on the history of Ch'an were mostly unavailable for study, the *Pao-lin chuan* was known only from references to it made in Sung sources, and the *Tsu-t'ang-chi* had yet to be "discovered" by Japanese scholars among a collection of Buddhist scriptures preserved in Korea. Familiarity with the traditional legend handed down in the Zen school was considered a prerequisite to the

scientific study of the history of Ch'an because the legend itself provided the starting point, and more importantly the conceptual framework, for critical investigation.

Thus, while Japanese scholars such as Suzuki and Ui ushered in the modern study of the history of Ch'an by adopting a critical stance toward the Zen school's legendary account of its own origins, they actually allowed the legend to define the field. The modern, critical history of the Ch'an school was still to be the history of an ancient ancestral "lineage" (*shū*; *tsung*) of Dharma inheritance.

The Japanese, of course, did not have a total monopoly on the study of the history of Ch'an in the prewar years. The Chinese scholar Hu Shih (1892-1962), in particular, made a great contribution to the field with his recognition of and research on a number of Tun-huang texts related to the history of Ch'an. Hu Shih was educated in the United States and China. Unlike most of the Japanese historians of Ch'an, he had no formal ties or particular sympathy with any contemporary school of Buddhism. His entrance into the field of the history of Ch'an was, in part a least, a reaction to the efforts of Japanese scholars (especially Suzuki), whom he regarded as incapable of understanding the Chinese mentality, and as too steeped in Zen Buddhist piety to write an objective history of the Ch'an school in China. Hu Shih, in fact, went further than any of his Japanese contemporaries in debunking the Sung Ch'an school's traditional account of its own origins. Nevertheless, insofar as he too took the traditional history as a starting point, his approach was fundamentally the same as that of the Japanese. Hu Shih's lasting influence on the field, moreover, has been embodied not in postwar Chinese scholarship, but in the persons of such second generation Japanese historians of early Ch'an as Sekiguchi Shindai and Yanagida Seizan, who have been somewhat bolder than their predecessors in their critique of the tradition.

In any case, without belittling the great contributions of Hu Shih and other scholars outside of Japan, it is fair to say

that the parameters of the modern field of the history of the Ch'an lineage were layed out by the Japanese. The basic approach taken by the pioneers -- that of correcting the traditional history -- has continued to exert a strong influence on the following generations scholars, not only in Japan, but among all researchers in the field who avail themselves (as they must) of Japanese scholarship. The decades that have elapsed since the modern study of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" began have seen in a thorough debunking and rewriting of the traditional history. But as we shall see in Chapter Five, modern scholarship has never quite broken away from the fundamental conception of the early Ch'an lineage and its history that was promulgated by the Sung Ch'an historians and preserved in the Japanese Zen tradition.

Notes to Chapter I

1 D.T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series) (London: Rider, 1949), p. 163. Hu Shih took a similar approach ("Development of Zen Buddhism in China," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, Vol. XV, no. 4 [Jan. 1932), p. 465).

CHAPTER II

THE SUNG CONCEPTION OF THE CH'AN LINEAGE

Ch'an Genealogies

The Sung historiography that Suzuki, Ui, and their contemporaries took as the starting point for a critical history of the early Ch'an school was handed down in texts that were were introduced into Japan from China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in conjunction with the wholesale transmission of the latest in Chinese Buddhist teachings and institutional forms that took place at that time. As was noted above, the oldest and historically most influential of the texts in question is the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*[1] (*The Ching-te Era Record of the Transmisssion of the Lamp*, 1004) compiled by Tao-yüan, a monk associated with the Fa-yen school.[2] Some examples of other works belonging to the same genre are: the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*[3] (*The T'ien-sheng Era Record of the Propagation of the Lamp*, 1036) compiled by Li Tsun-hsü (d. 1038), a son-in-law of the emperor and a lay follower of the Lin-chi school; the *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi*[4] (*A Record of the Orthodox Lineage of Dharma Transmission*, 1061) compiled by Ch'i-sung; the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu*[5] (*The Chien-chung Ching-kuo Era Supplementary Record of the Lamp*, 1101) compiled by Wei-po; the *Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao*[6] (*A Combined Record Lamp of Our [Ch'an] Lineage*, 1183) compiled by Wu-ming; the *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu*[7] (*The Chia-t'ai Era Universal Record of the Lamp*, 1204), compiled by Cheng-shou (1146-1208); and the *Wu-teng hui-yüan*[8] (*A Concise Compendium of the Five Lamp [Histories]*, 1253), compiled by P'u-chi.

The notion of transmitting (*ch'uan*) a lamp (*teng*) that is

expressed in these titles is a metaphor for the transmission of Dharma (*ch'uan-fa*). "Dharma" (*fa*), of course, means the "teachings" of Buddha. In this context, however, it is the essence of the teachings -- that is, perfect wisdom (the "eye of Dharma"), or enlightenment, rather than any particular doctrine -- that is conceived of as being passed on or transmitted from master to disciple. The transmission of Dharma is compared to lighting one lamp with another, passing the flame of the Buddha's enlightenment from one generation to the next without allowing it to be extinguished.

The Sung Ch'an histories were largely the work of Buddhist monk historians who regarded themselves as heirs to an ancient lineage (*tsung*) of Ch'an masters (*ch'an-shih*).[9] When they referred to this lineage in its entirety, they called it the Buddha Mind lineage (*fo-hsin tsung*), the lineage of Bodhidharma (*Ta-mo tsung*), or the Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*).[10] They conceived of this Ch'an lineage in explicitly genealogical terms, and sought to chronicle its origins and development by mapping out a kind of family tree. Individual monks belonging to the lineage were related vertically in the genealogy as spiritual fathers, sons, grandsons and so on, along direct lines of descent defined by the transmission of Dharma from master to disciple. They were related horizontally as siblings, cousins and so on, by virtue of their inheritance of Dharma (*ssu-fa*) from a common ancestral teacher (*tsu-shih*), Bodhidharma, who was said to have transmitted the Buddha Mind (enlightenment) from India to China.

In contents, the Sung Ch'an histories are comprised largely of hagiographies of individual monks said to belong to the Ch'an lineage. The hagiographies contain the same sort of biographical information that is found in the much older *Kao-seng chuan*[11] (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*) and *Hsü kao-seng chuan*[12] (*Additional Biographies of Eminent Monks*): facts concerning an individual's birth and death, lay and monkish names, ordination, early studies and travels, monastic offices held, imperially bestowed honors, practices specialized in, characteristic

teachings, monk disciples and lay followers, and so on. In addition to this sort of information, however, the hagiographies feature what purport to be verbatim records of a Ch'an master's sermons and dialogues with individuals who seek his instruction or challenge his understanding. In this respect the Sung Ch'an histories are closely related to the other genre of Ch'an literature that became immensely popular in the Sung, namely the "recorded sayings" (*yü-lu*) of T'ang and Sung masters. The chief difference between these two genres is that the recorded sayings generally focus on the sayings and doings of a single revered ancestral teacher (*tsu-shih*), whereas the "transmission of the lamp" histories are anthologies which include the sayings of many Ch'an masters who are linked in a genealogy of Dharma transmission.

The place in the genealogy of each of the individuals treated is made clear by two devices. First, there are claims made, within the individual hagiographies themselves, of Dharma transmission from masters to disciples. By taking note of all such claims of Dharma transmission, the reader of a particular history can piece together its version of the overall genealogy of the Ch'an lineage. Second, the names of all the individual Ch'an masters treated in a given folio of a history are often presented in a table of contents at the beginning of the folio, a table which indicates their relations to one another. The tables of contents, in other words, take the form of lineage charts.

Texts which use the concept of Dharma transmission as an organizing principle to group together individual hagiographies of ancestral teachers are commonly referred to as "lamp histories" (*tōshi*) in Japanese Zen academic circles, a usage that I shall henceforth follow in this study.

The Chinese Ch'an family tree, as the Sung historiographers understood it, had a number of major and minor branches, all stemming from a first ancestor (*ch'u-tsu*), the Indian meditation master Bodhidharma. Bodhidharma, according to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and subsequent lamp histories, was the twenty-

eighth in a line of Indian ancestral teachers who were direct spiritual descendants of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Bodhidharma was believed to have come to China during the Northern Wei dynasty (424-535), and to have transmitted his Dharma to a disciple Hui-k'o, who thereby became the twenty-ninth ancestor after Śākyamuni, and the second ancestor of the Ch'an lineage in China. From Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o down through a thirty-third (sixth in China) ancestor, Hui-neng (-713), the Sung lamp histories posit what is basically a unilinear transmission of the orthodox Dharma. As we shall see shortly, the texts exhibit considerable ambiguity with regard to the legitimacy (i.e. the status of Dharma inheritance) of several collateral lineages that were said to have branched off from the fourth and fifth ancestors in this line, but they clearly depict the main trunk of the Ch'an family tree as a single line of transmission extending from Śākyamuni to Hui-neng.

For the generations following Hui-neng, the Sung lamp histories describe a bifurcation of the ancestral trunk of the Ch'an lineage into the lineages of Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu (-740) and his disciple Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-790), and Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744) and his disciple Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788). They then posit a further division of these two lineages into branches which came to be known in later sources as the "five houses" (*wu-chia*):

(1) the Wei-yang lineage (*Wei-yang tsung*), which derived its name from its "founder" Wei-shan Ling-yu (771-853) and his disciple Yang-shan Hui-chi (807-883);

(2) the Lin-chi lineage (*Lin-chi tsung*) founded by Lin-chi I-hsüan (-866);

(3) the Ts'ao-tung lineage (*Ts'ao-tung tsung*), named after its founder Tung-shan Liang-chieh (807-869) and his disciple Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi (840-901);

(4) the Yün-men lineage (*Yün-men tsung*) founded by Yün-men Wen-yen (864-949); and

(5) the Fa-yen lineage (*Fa-yen tsung*) founded by Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958).

The last major branching of the Ch'an lineage posited by the

later Sung lamp histories was a division of the Lin-chi lineage into two offshoots stemming from Yang-ch'i Fang-hui (992-1049) and Huang-lung Hui-nan (1002-1069). The later Sung historiographers added these two lineages to the earlier grouping of "five houses," thereby producing a list of "seven lineages" (*ch'i-tsung*). They regarded the "five houses and seven lineages" as comprising the orthodox Ch'an lineage in the period extending from the latter part of the T'ang dynasty through the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1127).

The oldest extant source that explicitly formulates the scheme of "five houses" is the *Jen-tien yen-mu*[13] (*The Eyes of Men and Gods*), first published in 1188. This work, which focuses mainly on doctrinal issues and explains the central teachings of each of the five houses in considerable detail, greatly influenced later historiographers' perception of the of the Ch'an lineage in the late T'ang and Five Dynasties. It circulated widely, was republished a number of times between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, and spawned many commentaries.[14] It is often held that an earlier work, Fa-yen Wen-i's *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun*,[15] anticipated the formulation of the "five houses" scheme insofar as it named (for the first time in any extant sources) the Lin-chi, Ts'ao-tung, Wei-yang and Yün-men branches (*p'ai*) of the Southern lineage, and mentioned a few of their characteristic doctrines.[16] Fa-yen's own house, of course, would have been the fifth, although he refrained from including it. This attempt to read the "five houses" scheme back into the *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun* has a flaw, however: Fa-yen did not list only four branches of the Southern lineage. He in fact named six branches deriving from the sixth ancestor through either Nan-yüeh or Ch'ing-yüan, and suggested by the addition of an "etc." (*teng*) that the list was merely representative, and not complete.[17] It is evident that Hui-yen Chih-chao, the author of the *Jen-tien yen-mu*, was familiar with the *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun*,[18] and certain, of course, that he considered Fa-yen's lineage to be important. The basis for Hui-yen's presentation of "five houses," however, remains uncer-

tain: we have no way of knowing whether the scheme of "five houses" originated with him or had already been formulated by some earlier historiographer. In either case, it seems likely that it was a rather late formulation which retrospectively assigned historical importance to certain lineages.

Beginning with the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, each of the Sung lamp histories was in some sense a continuation of the ones which preceded it. This is not to say that each successive lamp history simply took up where the previous one had left off. Rather, each drew heavily on its predecessors in recounting the history of the Ch'an lineage as it had already been established, and then extended the account by adding on new hagiographies for prominent Ch'an masters in recent generations, and more detailed hagiographies for figures that had not gained much attention in previous lamp histories. Such additions generally reflected the factional biases of the compilers, who tended to include more (and more detailed) biographies for masters belonging to the particular branch of the Ch'an lineage with which they claimed affiliation. Nevertheless, their general approach was one of tolerance and inclusiveness: no attempt was made to expurgate the representatives of competing lineages from the genealogy, or to brand them as false claimants to Dharma inheritance.

As was noted above, the Sung historiographers took an ambiguous stance towards several lineages which they recognized as having been closely related to, but not quite part of, the Ch'an lineage in the generations following Bodhidharma. One of these was the so-called Ox-head lineage (*Niu-t'ou-tsung*), said to have been founded by Fa-yung (594-657), who was identified as a disciple of the fourth ancestor in China, Tao-hsin (580-651). The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* contains hagiographies for six generations of Ox-head lineage meditation masters, beginning with Fa-yung. It presents the Ox-head lineage as a respected collateral line which "diverged" (*p'ang-ch'u*) from the orthodox Ch'an lineage that leads from Tao-hsin through the thirty-second (fifth) ancestor Hung-jen (-674) to the thirty-

third (sixth) ancestor Hui-neng.

Another important "divergent" lineage that was granted a certain validity in the Sung lamp histories was the so-called Northern lineage (*pei-tsung*) deriving from Shen-hsiu (-706), a disciple of the fifth ancestor Hung-jen. By the advent of the Sung, the story of how Hui-neng prevailed over Shen-hsiu in their competition for inheritance of Hung-jen's Dharma and thus became the sixth ancestor was widely known and accepted within Ch'an circles. Indeed, all of the Sung Ch'annists regarded themselves as heirs to an orthodox Southern lineage (*nan-tsung*) stemming from Hui-neng. Given this fact, it would not be surprising to find Shen-hsiu's "Northern" lineage ignored in the Sung lamp histories, or at best introduced briefly so that it could once again be discredited in comparison with the Southern lineage of Hui-neng. On the whole, however, the Sung lamp histories are rather magnanimous in their treatment of the Northern lineage. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, for example, contains hagiographies for a number of Shen-hsiu's important Dharma heirs, down to the fifth generation. It is similarly generous in its treatment of divergent lineages that it describes as originating with other disciples of Hung-jen, such as the line stemming from Hui-an (582-709).

The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* is careful, on the one hand, to draw a distinction between Hui-neng, the disciple of Hung-jen who became the sole legitimate sixth ancestor, and the other disciples of Hung-jen, who were merely the founders of divergent lineages.[19] On the other hand, it glosses over this distinction between the one orthodox and several heterodox lineages by allowing that Hui-an and Shen-hsiu, for example, were also Dharma heirs of Hung-jen, and by referring to later figures in the Northern lineage as belonging to the second, third, or fourth generations of Dharma inheritance from Hung-jen.[20]

For the generations following Hui-neng, the Sung historiographers simply abandoned the principle of unilinear Dharma transmission, and recognized a number of competing lineages as separate but equally legitimate members of an extended Ch'an

clan. They granted orthodoxy -- still conceived in terms of Dharma transmission from Bodhidharma, but no longer restricted to a unilinear patriarchal succession -- to anyone willing to pledge allegiance to the Southern lineage of Hui-neng and to produce some historical (i.e. genealogical) evidence of spiritual descent from him. The rubric "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) as it came to be used in the Sung thus served an ideological function within Chinese Buddhism that was more unifying and conciliatory than divisive or exclusivistic.

<u>Practices and Doctrines Associated with the "Ch'an Lineage"</u>

Adherence to one particular creed, cult, or approach to religious practice was not a requirement for claiming membership in the Ch'an lineage in the Sung. Nominally "Ch'an" monasteries contained facilities for a wide range of traditional Buddhist practices.[21] Doctrinally, too, Sung Ch'an tended toward syncretism, giving rise to such theoretical formulations as the "unity of Ch'an and the scriptural teachings" (*chiao-ch'an yi-chih*), the "unity of Ch'an and the Pure Land approach" (*ch'an-ching yi-chih*), and the "unity of the three teachings (Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism)" (*san-chiao yi-chih*).[22] There was also, to be sure, an opposing ideology (popular especially among followers of the Yang-ch'i branch of the Lin-chi school) which stressed that the Ch'an lineage represented a "separate transmission outside the teachings, not dependent on texts" (*chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan, pu-li wen-tzu*).[23] But even the most vociferous proponents of this maxim lived side by side in the same monasteries as their brethren who espoused syncretic doctrines.

The early Sung Ch'an historiographers were generally sympathetic to syncretism in doctrine and cult. One of the leading advocates of the "unity of Ch'an and the scriptural teachings" in the early Sung was Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975), a monk of the Fa-yen school. Yung-ming's teacher was T'ien-t'ai Te-chao (891-972), a disciple of Fa-yen Wen-i who resided on Mt. T'ien-t'ai and labored to revive T'ien-t'ai school teachings.[24] Ano-

ther pupil of Te-chao was Tao-yüan, the compiler of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. Yen-shou's major opus was the massive *Tsung-ching-lu*[25] (*The Record of the Ancestral Mirror*), completed in 961. Because the *Tsung-ching-lu* brought many currents of Chinese Buddhist philosophy (e.g. San-lun, Fa-hsiang, T'ien-t'ai, Hua-yen) together with the recorded sayings (*yü-lu*) and debates (*wen-ta*) of Ch'an masters (*ch'an-shih*), Yanagida calls it a work which "picked up where Tsung-mi left off, bringing the philosophy of 'the unity of Ch'an and the scriptural teachings' to completion."[26] Yen-shou is also regarded as the father of Pure Land teachings in the Sung, whose writings layed the foundation for the absorbtion of *nien-fo* practice into Ch'an.[27]

The "Ch'an Lineage" as a Political Entity

During the Sung, as had been the case in earlier dynasties, Buddhism took on the status of a national religion. This was a mixed blessing for the Buddhist order. On the one hand, leading Buddhist monasteries enjoyed imperial recognition and aristocratic patronage, and favored clerics were in a position to gain the ear of officials close to the court. By the same token, the order of monks and nuns was subject to strict and sometimes capricious state control, and monastic institutions were viewed almost as a branch of the national polity. The Buddhist order was vulnerable to every sort of official meddling in its internal affairs, even to the point of having matters of doctrinal orthodoxy decided by imperial edict. State approval of a text for inclusion in the Buddhist canon (*ta-tsang-ching*) was tantamount to an official stamp of orthodoxy. Conversely, Buddhist scriptures not so recognized were liable to be ignored by historians, or branded as heretical and censored or even destroyed.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the Sung lamp histories were compiled by monk scholars who enjoyed the patronage of the imperial court and aristocracy, and that the histories were published with state approval and sponsorship. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* derived its name from the fact that it was

presented to the Emperor Chen-tsung in the first year of the Ching-te era (1004-1007). It was published with imperial patronage shortly thereafter,[28] and was approved for inclusion in the canon. Subsequent lamp histories also came to be known by the reign style (*nien-hao*) of the era in which they were granted imperial recognition.[29]

The fact that a number of Ch'an lamp histories were granted imperial recognition in the Sung as canonical works attests to the ascendancy that proponents of the Ch'an lineage had gained as representatives of the orthodox (i.e. state approved) religion. This is not to say, of course, that the ideology of the Sung Ch'an historiographers went entirely unopposed by other Buddhists in the battle for imperial approval, or that Buddhism in general was free from competition from other schools of thought. Within the Buddhist camp, scholarly monks who were proponents of the T'ien-t'ai and Vinaya (*lü*) traditions contested the claim to orthodoxy that was made for the Ch'an lineage, and achieved occasional success at having their own versions of Buddhist history accepted by the court.[30] Buddhism as a whole was vigorously challenged in the Sung by a rising tide of Neo-Confucian thought which, while absorbing some elements of Buddhist doctrine, eventually carried the day as the predominant ideology among court officials and the aristocracy. Nevertheless, state support of Buddhist monastic institutions went on throughout the Sung, and was continued by the conquering Mongols when they took up the reins of government in the Yüan dynasty (1280-1368).

One of the arguments used successfully by proponents of the Ch'an lineage to gain favor with the Sung court was that Buddhism could help protect the well-being of emperor and the state by means of ritual performances that manipulated unseen spiritual forces -- keeping evil spirits at bay, enlisting the aid of benevolent spirits, praying to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and nourishing (*kung-yang*) various ancestral spirits with offerings of merit (*kung-te*). The Sung Ch'an monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*) contain procedural instructions and liturgies for

numerous prayer services, offering services and memorial services performed for the benefit of the imperial house and other lay patrons.[31] The ideology of "promoting Ch'an for the protection of the state" prevailed in China, and was picked up and repeated by Japanese monks such as Eisai (1141-1215) who sought to transmit the latest in Chinese Buddhism (i.e. Ch'an) to Japan in the Kamakura period (1185-1333).[32]

Opposition to the Designation "Ch'an Lineage"

There were in the Sung a few Buddhist monks who regarded themselves as heirs to the Buddha Dharma transmitted through the accepted line of twenty-eight Indian and six Chinese ancestors, but who adamantly rejected the name "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) as a term of self-reference. One such monk was T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching (1163-1228), teacher of Dōgen Kigen (1200-1253), the "founder" of the Sōtō (*Ts'ao-tung*) school of Zen in Japan. As we shall see, Dōgen himself forcefully rejected the designations "Ch'an lineage," "Buddha Mind lineage," "lineage of Bodhidharma," and even the very term "lineage" (*tsung*). In considering Ju-ching's teachings on this subject, it should be born in mind that much of what we know of Ju-ching is through the writings of Dōgen. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that both Dōgen's views and the virtually identical views he attributes to Ju-ching represented sentiments that may have been shared by other "Ch'an" monks in Sung China.

The clearest statement of Ju-ching's opposition to the term "Ch'an lineage" is found in the *Hōkyōki*,[33] a personal memoir written by Dōgen. In the *Hōkyōki*, Dōgen records various experiences and encounters that he had while training in leading Ch'an monasteries in China from 1223 and 1227, including many private exchanges that he had with his teacher Ju-ching, then the abbot of the Ching-te Monastery on Mt. T'ien-t'ung. The pertinent section of the *Hōkyōki* reads as follows.

> [I, Dōgen] made prostrations and inquired, "If the great Way of the Buddhas and ancestors cannot be confined to a single pigeonhole, why do we use a forced

designation like 'Ch'an lineage' (*ch'an-tsung*)?"

The abbot [Ju-ching] replied, "We must not refer to the great Way of the Buddhas and ancestors with a corrupt designation like 'Ch'an lineage.' The designation 'Ch'an lineage' is a twisted, false expression. It derives from the pretensions of bald-headed little beasts. This was known by all of the ancient men of virtue. It was well known in the past. Have you ever read the *Shih-men lin-chien lu*?"

[I] Dōgen replied, "I have not read it."

The Reverend [Ju-ching] said, "You would do well to read through it once. The explanation in the text is correct. The gist is that the World Honored One transmitted the great Dharma exclusively to Mahākāśyapa, that it was then handed down through twenty-eight generations of heirs [in India] and transmitted five times in the Eastern land [China] until it came to Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-neng]. At present it has come down to me, Ju-ching; I am the complete repository of the Buddha Dharma. In all the thousands of realms there is no one who can match me. The adherents of the various schools today which rely on the study of the sutras and commentaries also belong to the family of the Buddhas and ancestors, but they differ in stature; some are within and some are outside, some are intimate and others are estranged."[34]

Dōgen took a similar position in the chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō* (*The Treasury of the Eye of the True Dharma*) entitled *Butsudō* (*Buddhism*), which was written sixteen years after Dōgen's return to Japan in 1227. Portions of the text are cited here.

Persons ignorant of the principle [of true Dharma transmission] recklessly refer to the treasury of the eye of the true Dharma, the wonderful mind of nirvana that is correctly transmitted by the Buddhas and ancestors, as the "Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū*, *ch'an-tsung*). They call the ancestral teachers (*soshi*, *tsu-shih*) "Ch'an ancestors" (*zenso*; *ch'an-tsu*), and call practitioners (*gakusha*; *hsüeh-che*) "Ch'an masters" (*zenji*, *ch'an-shih*). They call themselves "Ch'an monks" (*zennasu*, *ch'an-ho-tzu*), or "followers of the Ch'an school" (*zenke ryū*, *ch'an-chia liu*). These are all superficialities which take warped opinions as something essential. Those who recklessly take it upon themselves to use the term "Ch'an lineage," when in fact this designation has never been used in India or China from ancient times down to the present, are devils who destroy Buddhism; they are enemies who incur the wrath of the Buddhas and ancestors. The *Shih-men lin-chien lu* says:

> "When Bodhidharma first went from Liang to Wei, he traveled to the foot of Mt. Sung and took up residence in the Shao-lin Monastery, where he did nothing but sit peacefully facing a wall. This was not the practice of dhyāna (*hsi-ch'an*). For a long time people could not fathom his purpose. Therefore they called Bodhidharma a practitioner of dhyāna (*hsi-ch'an*). Now, dhyāna (*ch'an-na*) is but one of the various practices: how could it alone be sufficient to become a holy man? Nevertheless, people of that day took it that way. The historians also followed along, placing [Bodhidharma's] biography together with [biographies of] other dhyāna practitioners, putting him a class with those who tried to make themselves like lifeless wood and dead ashes. But the holy man does not restrict himself to dhyāna practice, nor does he avoid dhyāna practice...."
>
> When we call Bodhidharma the twenty-eighth ancestor, it is because we consider Mahākāśyapa the first ancestor. Bodhidharma is the thirty-fifth ancestor after the Buddha Vipaśyin. The seven Buddhas and the twenty-eight generations of ancestors did not attain perfect enlightenment solely through the practice of dhyāna (*zenna, ch'an-na*). It was for this reason that the men of old said, "Dhyāna is but one of the many practices; how could it alone be sufficient to become a holy man...?"
>
> When the World Honored One met with Mahākāśyapa, the expression "Ch'an lineage" was never heard; when the first ancestor [Bodhidharma] met with the second ancestor [Hui-k'o] the expression "Ch'an lineage" was never heard; when the fifth ancestor [Hung-jen] met with the sixth ancestor [Hui-neng] the expression "Ch'an lineage" was never heard; and when Ch'ing-yüan met with Nan-yo the expression "Ch'an lineage" was never heard. Who started to use this term, and when...?
>
> In the great Sung in recent times the falsely conceived name "Ch'an lineage" can be heard everywhere throughout the land. Many worldly people bandy about the falsely conceived expressions "Ch'an lineage," "lineage of Bodhidharma," and "Buddha Mind lineage," thereby corrupting Buddhism....
>
> ... the Buddhism transmitted and received by the Buddhas of old cannot even be called dhyāna (*zenjō, ch'an-ting*), much less the "Ch'an lineage."[35]

It is apparent from the two passages just quoted that Dōgen followed his teacher Ju-ching's advice to read the *Shih-men lien-chien lu*, and that the text inspired both Ju-ching and Dōgen in their criticisms of the term "Ch'an lineage." The

Shih-men lin-chien lu[36] (*A Record of Teachings Given in the Shih-men Monastery*) was compiled around 1107 by Chüeh-fan Hui-hung (1071-1128), a monk who belonged to the Huang-lung branch of the Lin-chi school and wrote many other scholarly works on Buddhism, including two that belong to the lamp history genre.[37] The misguided historian alluded to in the *Shih-men lin-chien lu* passage quoted by Dōgen is undoubtedly Tao-hsüan (596-667), who included a biography of Bodhidharma in the section of his *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (*Additional Biographies of Eminent Monks*) that deals with dhyāna practitioners (*hsi-ch'an*).[38] In light of the fact that Tao-hsüan did not distinguish Bodhidharma in any fundamental way from the other eminent dhyāna masters (*ch'an-shih*) who received biographical notices, and made no mention in Bodhidharma's biography of any special transmission of Dharma through a line of patriarchs, we may interpret Hui-hung's remarks in the *Shih-men lin-chien lu* as an attempt to explain what to him was a gross oversight on Tao-hsüan's part. Hui-hung's point, in any case, is that Bodhidharma was not merely a practitioner of dhyāna despite the fact that he was categorized as such by Tao-hsüan and was reported (in the Sung hagiographies) to have sat in meditation facing a wall.[39] Dhyāna, Hui-hung argues, is but one of the practices necessary for enlightenment; the implication is that the practice of morality (*śīla*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) are also necessary, or the practice of the other five perfections (*pāramitā*).[40] Since Bodhidharma was the enlightened sage who transmitted the Buddha Dharma from India to China, Hui-hung implies, he must have been fully accomplished in all of the perfections, not just dhyāna.

Ju-ching's objection to the designation "Ch'an lineage," as reported by Dōgen, is predicated on the same understanding as that of Hui-hung, to wit, that *ch'an* is dhyāna, just one of the six perfections, and that Bodhidharma transmitted the whole of the Buddha Dharma, not merely one facet or form of it. Virtually the same argument, we shall see, was advanced by Tsung-mi in the ninth century, in opposition to those who equated the practice of *ch'an* alone with ultimate reality, to the exclusion

of the other five perfections. We shall have occasion to remark on a number of other fundamental similarities between Ju-ching's understanding and that of Tsung-mi in Chapter Four, following a closer examination of Tsung-mi's conception of the Ch'an school. Suffice it at present to note that Ju-ching strongly rejected the notion that Buddhist teachings handed down in sutras and commentaries were different in essence from the Dharma transmitted through the line of patriarchs from Śākyamuni to Hui-neng. Thus, in the passage quoted above, Ju-ching allowed that even the followers of the schools of scriptural interpretation "belong to the family of the Buddhas and ancestors," albeit as more or less peripheral branches on the family tree. Elsewhere in the *Hōkyōki* we find Ju-ching sharply rejecting the school of thought which posited an essential difference between the philosophical arguments of the "teachings" schools (*chiao-chia*) and the approach of the "school of the Buddhas and ancestors" (*fo-tsu chih chia*).[41] Ju-ching was emphatic that "the world cannot have two Buddha Dharmas,"[42] and equally emphatic that certain lineages transmitted the one true, all-inclusive Buddha Dharma better than others.

Dōgen's objections to the names "Ch'an lineage," "lineage of Bodhidharma," and "Buddha Mind lineage" are clearly grounded in a similar conviction that the Dharma transmitted by the Buddhas and ancestors was the Buddha Dharma in its entirety, not just a part of it or a particular version of it. On the same grounds, Dōgen criticized the widespread belief that there were "five houses" (*wu-chia*) representing different styles (*chia-feng*) of Buddhism, and quoted a sermon given by Ju-ching to back up his position.[43] He castigated Hui-yen Chih-chao, author of the *Jen-t'ien yen-mu* (published 1188), for promoting the study of the five houses, and criticized the use of the designation "lineage" (*tsung*) in general as creating false divisions within the Buddha Dharma.[44] At the same time, of course, Dōgen subscribed wholeheartedly to the fundamental concept of a line of Dharma transmission. It was the suggestion that the lineage leading to his teacher Ju-ching was just one among many, and the implica-

tion that it transmitted something less than the whole of authentic Buddhism, that really aroused Dōgen's ire.

Dōgen's claim that the designation "Ch'an lineage" first gained widespread acceptance in Sung China cannot, of course, be accepted at face value as historical evidence that this was so, but it does present us with a viable hypothesis. Dōgen's question -- "Who started to use this term, and when?" -- is a a good one, and one which shall receive our attention in the following chapters.

Notes to Chapter II

1 T 51 (no. 2067).

2 Following its composition by Tao-yüan, the text was edited by Yang-i (968-1024), who claimed allegiance to the Lin-chi school.

3 ZZ 2B-8-4, 5.

4 T 51 (no. 2078).

5 ZZ 2B-9-1, 2.

6 ZZ 2B-9-3, 4, 5.

7 ZZ 2B-10-1, 2.

8 ZZ 2B-10-5, p. 455 through 2B-11-4, p. 416.

9 An exception to the general rule of authorship by scholar monks is found in the case of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu*, which was compiled by Li Tsun-hsü, a lay scholar official married to an imperial princess. Li Tsun-hsü was an avid promoter of the Lin-chi school.

10 In the earlier Sung histories, references tr specific branches of the "Ch'an lineage" (e.g. *Lin-chi tsung*, *Yün-men tsung*, etc.,) appear much more often than references to a Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*) itself. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, compiled in 952, a few years before the advent of the Sung, does not employ an umbrella term such as "Ch'an lineage" to refer to the lineages that were later grouped together under that rubric. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* uses the expression "Ch'an lineage" occasionally; see, for example, the occurrence in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (T 51 [no. 206], p. 250d). For an example of the expression "Buddha Mind lineage" (*fo-hsin-tsung*) in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* see *chüan* 3 on Bodhidharma (T 51 [no. 2076], p. 220a. In sources dating from the Southern Sung and Yüan dynasties the term "Ch'an lineage" came to be used much more frequently.

11 T 50 (no. 2059).

12 T 50 (no. 2060).

13 T 48 (2006), pp. 300a ff.; ZZ 2-18-15. Takashi James Kodera says that the *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi* (written 1061) is the first source in whch "five houses" (*wu-chia*) are clearly identified (*Dōgen's Formative Years in China*, p. 96). In the passages he cites (T 51, [no. 2078], pp. 757b-763c) the names

of the lineages concerned are mentioned, but there is no clear formulation of a system of "five houses."

14 The text was edited and/or substantially reworked in 1258, 1317, 1368, 1565, and 1703 in China; it also spawned a large number of commentaries by Zen Buddhists in Japan in the Tokugawa period (1600–1868); see *Zengaku daijiten* 2:998c–d.

15 ZZ 2-15-5.

16 See, for example, Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," p. 84; Yanagida proposes that the count of "five houses" was probably Fa-yen's own invention. See also Ui Hakuju, *Shina Bukkyō shi* (Tokyo, 1936), pp. 233–234.

17 ZZ 2-15-5, p. 439d.

18 The title of the *Jen-tien yen-mu* may even have been suggested by the occurrence of that expression in the *Tsung-men shih-kuei lun* (ZZ 2-15-5, p. 440c).

19 This distinction is made in the lineage charts at beginning of *chuan* 4 and 5 (T 51 [no. 2076] pp. 223b–226c, 235a–b).

20 T 51 (no. 2076) pp.232a–234b.

21 Ch'an monastery facilities and the practices that took place in them are discussed in Chapter Three.

22 See Kagamishima Genryū, "Nansō zenrin no ichi kosatsu," in *Dōgen zenji to sono monryū*, pp. 30–36 for a discussion of these doctrines, and the syncretic tenor of Ch'an thought in the Southern Sung.

23 As Kagamishima points out, the expression *chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan* was held up as a catchword by Ch'annists in the T'ang and Sung, but it was only in the Sung that it came to be understood in some quarters as a literal rejection of the study of traditional Buddhist scriptures ("Nansō zenrin no ichi kosatsu," p. 34). This expression also came to be used in the Sung as the rallying cry for advocates of the Ch'an lineage who wished to denounce the rival T'ien-t'ai lineage, which was identified as transmitting scriptural "teachings" (*chiao*).

24 Along with his scholarly studies, Te-chao tried to recover T'ien-t'ai texts lost in China by getting copies from Korea and Japan (Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," p. 89).

25 T 49 (no. 2016).

26 Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," p. 89.

27 Ibid; also Ogisu Jundō, *Zenshū shi no sansaku* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1981), p. 311–312. I do not, however, subscribe to the notion that *nien-fo* and *ch'an* were unrelated practices that needed to be "brought together" in the Sung. For a discussion of the intimate connection between *nien-fo* and *ch'an* that existed from the earliest times in Chinese Buddhism, see Chapter Four under the heading "The Meaning of the Term *ch'an* in T'ang Sources."

28 According to Isshū Miura and Ruth F. Sasaki, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* was first presented to the emperor Chen-tsung in 1004, but was not published with imperial approval until 1011 (*Zen Dust*, p. 351).

29 The *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* was presented to the emperor Jen-tsung in the seventh year of the T'ien-sheng era (1023-1031), and the *Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu* was presented to the emperor Hui-tsung during the Chien-chung Ching-kuo era (1101). These two lamp histories were both honored with prefaces written by the reigning emperor, and included in the canon by imperial order. The *Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu*, similarly, derived its name from the fact that it was presented to the emperor Ning-tsung in the fourth year of the Chia-t'ai era (1201-1204). It too was probably published with imperial sponsorship and included in the canon.

30 For an account of the challenge to Ch'an histories mounted by historiographers of the T'ien-t'ai school in the Sung, see Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China," pp. 369-372. The Korean T'ien-t'ai monk Uich'on was instrumental in having two Ch'an works, the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Lu-tsu t'an-ching*, burned as spurious histories during the reign of the emperor Tao-tsung (1055-1101) of Liao (Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 52).

31 By the latter part of the twelfth century, at the latest, it had become a standard practice in Ch'an monasteries to dedicate the major convocations (*shang-t'ang*) held on the first and fifteenth day of each month to prayers for the long life of the reigning emperor and for the benefit of the spirits of his ancestors. The oldest extant Ch'an monastic code in which this practice appears is the *Ts'ung-lin chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei*, compiled in 1274 (ZZ 2-17-1, pp. 14-15). However, the practice was already established in Ch'an monasteries at least a century earlier, for it is mentioned by Eisai in his *Kōzen gokoku ron*, written in 1198 (Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Kōzen gokoku ron*, pp. 82, 118). According to Eisai, prayers for the reigning emperor were to be held on the 1st of the month, and prayers for former emperors were to be held on the 15th. Special prayer ceremonies involving the continuous chanting of various sutras were also held for thirty days leading up to the reigning emperors's birthday. Instructions regarding prayers for the benefit of the emperor and lay patrons are found in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, the oldest extant Ch'an monastic code (compiled 1003) (Kagamishima, et al., ed., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, pp. 35, 207, 300. The merit resulting from the ordination of novice monks (*sha-mi shou-chiai*), according to the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, was to be dedicated first to the emperor.

32 Eisai advanced this ideology in his *Kōzen gokoku ron* (*Treatise on the Promotion of Zen for the Protection of the Nation*) (Yanagida, ed., pp. 100-101).

33 I have used the critical edition of the original text of the *Hōkyōki* presented by Kodera in *Dogen's Formative Years*

in China, pp. 225–258.

34 Kodera, pp. 234–235; my translation follows Kodera's in a few places (for Kodera's translation, see pp. 123).

35 *Butsudō*, in Ōkubo Dōshū, ed., *Dōgen zenji zenshū*, 2 vols., (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969, 1970), 1:376–379 passim.

36 ZZ 2B, 21, 4; the passage quoted by Dōgen in his *Butsudō* is on p. 295d.

37 "Kaidai," in *Kokuyaku sekimon kō kakuhan rinkan roku*, p. 2, in *Kokuyaku zenshū sōsho*, vol. 2 (Tokyo: 1919).

38 T 50 (no. 2060), pp. 550 ff.

39 See, for example, the rendition of this legend in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51 [no. 2076], p. 219b. By the Sung, Bodhidharma's practice of *pi-kuan*, the Chinese characters for which may be translated as "wall contemplation," had come to be interpreted literally as meaning seated *dhyāna* practiced "facing a wall" (*mien-pi*). A few modern scholars have accepted this interpretation; see, for example, Hu-shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," p. 487. Others have rejected the literal reading and offered a variety of alternatives; see, for example, D.T. Suzuki's discussion in *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, First Series, pp. 184–186; also Sekiguchi Shindai's discussion in *Daruma no kenkyū*, pp. 136–137. I am inclined to accept the suggestion of Luis Gómez that the term *pi-kuan* was originally a mixed transliteration and translation of *vipaśyanā* (*pi* = *vi*; *kuan* = [*vi*]-*paśyanā*).

40 The six perfections (*pāramitā*) that comprise the discipline of a bodhisattva are: (1) gving (*pu-chih*, *dāna*); (2) morality (*ch'ih-chiai*; *śīla*), (3) patient acceptance (*jen-ju*; *kṣānti*), (4) energetic exertion (*ching-chin*; *vīrya*), (5) meditation (*ch'an-ting*; *dhyāna*), and (6) wisdom (*chih-hui*; *prajñā*).

41 Kodera, p. 241.

42 Ibid, p. 226.

43 *Butsudō*, in Ōkubo, ed., *Dōgen zenji zenshū*, 1:380.

44 Ibid, 1:387.

CHAPTER III

SUNG CH'AN MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS

In the preceding chapter I showed that the Sung historiographers' conception of the Ch'an school hinged chiefly on the question of lineage or spiritual "blood lines," and that matters of doctrine and practice were not of central concern in their definition of "Ch'an." In the present chapter, I shall examine the actual arrangements of "Ch'an" monastic institutions in the Sung in greater detail, contrasting the facts with the conception of "Ch'an" institutions that was held by partisans of the Ch'an school. The point I wish to make is that a myth of the uniqueness and independence of Ch'an institutions flourished in the Sung, when in actuality those institutions were neither innovative nor distinctive.

The Sung Conception of Ch'an Monasteries

It was common by the Southern Sung dynasty to distinguish several classes of Buddhist monasteries in accordance with the Dharma lineages associated with them. The three types of monasteries most often mentioned in Sung sources are: (1) Ch'an monasteries (*ch'an-ssu*) or Ch'an cloisters (*ch'an-yüan*); (2) Teachings monasteries (*chiao-ssu*) or Teachings cloisters (*chiao-yüan*); and (3) Vinaya monasteries (*lü-ssu*) or Vinaya cloisters (*lü-yüan*).[1] Setting aside, for the moment, the historical question of what (if any) actual differences of internal organization and discipline may have existed between various types of monasteries, let us focus first on a somewhat different issue: the way in which the classifications were conceived in the Sung, both by the Buddhist clergy themselves and

by government officials who were charged with overseeing the Buddhist order.[2]

One of the most informative, albeit biased, sources for understanding what the distinction between Ch'an, Teachings, and Vinaya monasteries meant to Buddhists in the Southern Sung is found in Dōgen's *Hōkyōki*, in the form of a record of a private exchange that Dōgen had with his teacher Ju-ching. On this occasion Dōgen expressed his views of the different classes of monasteries existing in China at the time, and asked Ju-ching to verify his understanding. Dōgen's lengthy question (apparently presented to his master in written form) and Ju-ching's reply are reproduced here with some abbreviation.

> [I, Dōgen] made prostrations and inquired: "There are four types of monastery (*ssu-yüan*) in the land, namely, Ch'an cloisters (*ch'an-yüan*), Teachings cloisters (*chiao-yüan*), Vinaya cloisters (*lü-yüan*), and Disciple cloisters (*t'u-ti-yüan*).
>
> The [residents of the] Ch'an cloisters are the descendants of the Buddhas and ancestors, who exclusively transmit [Bodhidharma's] Mt. Sung practice of [sitting in meditation] facing a wall and engaging in assiduous cultivation (*kung-fu*). Since the treasury of the eye of the true Dharma, the wonderful mind of nirvana, is preserved among them, truly they are the rightful heirs to the Tathāgata and are the all-inclusive repository of the Buddha Dharma. The others are therefore peripheral branches; how could they possibly be considered on a par?"
>
> "Teachings cloisters are [places for] T'ien-t'ai teachings (*chiao*) and contemplation (*kuan*).... Ever since [the time of] Hui-wen [the "founder" of the T'ien-t'ai school], the principle tenets held by all the Teachings cloisters in the land have been the T'ien-t'ai teachings. Although Hui-wen relied on the *Chung-kuan-lun* [attributed to Nāgārjuna], he only made use of the text; he never met Nāgārjuna, and never received Nāgārjuna's seal (*yin-k'o*) [certifying Dharma transmission]. Still less was he in a position to learn the details of [Nāgārjuna's] monastery regulations, or the uses to which various monastery buildings were put [in India]. At present some Teachings cloisters have rooms for practice of the sixteen contemplations, but that practice is based on the *Wu-liang-shou-ching*, a sutra whose authenticity [i.e. Indian origin] is unproven and has been doubted by scholars past and present.... Clearly the Teachings cloisters can not transmit the monastery arrangement that was in effect when

the Buddha was alive...."

"Vinaya cloisters have flourished from the time of Nan-shan [Tao-hsüan (596-667), "founder" of the Nan-shan school of Vinaya interpretation]. Nan-shan never went to the great lands of India and Central Asia; he only read fragments of materials brought to China. Even if he had heard reports [on the arrangement of Indian monasteries] from heavenly beings, how could this be compared to firsthand instruction from those who were truly knowledgeable? Thus many scholars and practitioners are dubious about the layout of the various halls and quarters that are lined up like so many scales on a fish or teeth on a comb in what are now called Vinaya cloisters."

"What are now called Ch'an cloisters are the empire's great monasteries, designated as 'leading monasteries (*chia-ch'a*) and 'various mountains' (*chu-shan*). They have more than a thousand residents, and more than a hundred buildings. With storied pavilions arrayed from front to rear and covered corridors running from east to west, their facilities are like those of an imperial residence. This arrangement is surely the one that was passed down by the Buddhas and ancestors in face-to-face oral transmission; [in this arrangement] that which should be built is built...."

"[The Dharma of the Buddha Śākyamuni] was transmitted twenty-eight times until it came to the Venerable Bodhidharma, who personally brought it to China where he correctly transmitted the true Dharma for the sake of saving deluded beings. After five more transmissions it reached Ts'ao-ch'i [Hui-neng], who had two disciples, Ching-yüan and Nan-yüeh. Their descendants, whom we now address as good spiritual guides, are spreading the teachings as representatives of the Buddha. The monasteries where they dwell can be regarded as the legitimate inheritors of the Buddha Dharma; they must not be compared with Teachings monasteries, Vinaya monasteries and the like. It is the same as with a nation, which cannot have two kings...."

The abbot [Ju-ching] kindly replied, "Dōgen, what you have written is so; your account is acceptable. However, useless designations such as 'Teachings,' 'Vinaya' and 'Ch'an' cloister were unknown in ancient times. The naming of three types of cloisters that goes on today is an unwarranted custom of these later generations. In their ignorance of the Buddha Dharma, the kings and ministers recklessly categorize monks as Teachings monks, Vinaya monks, Ch'an monks, and so on. When monastery name plaques (*e*) are bestowed [by imperial edict] they also write the words 'Vinaya monastery' (*lü-ssu*), 'Teachings monastery' (*chiao-ssu*), 'Ch'an monastery' (*ch'an-ssu*), and the like on them. In this way the idea

has spread through the land that there are five classes of monks. It is said that Vinaya monks are the descendants of Nan-shan [Tao-hsüan], Teachings monks are the descendants of T'ien-t'ai [Chih-i], Yoga [Tantric] monks are the descendants of Amoghavajra and others, and that the Disciple monks have no clear lineage of succession from master to disciple. Ch'an monks are said to be the descendants of Bodhidharma. How unfortunate it is that in our frontier land [i.e. far removed from India] in these latter days we see these kinds of groupings. Although there were five schools in India, there was only one Buddha Dharma. In this Eastern Land [China] there are five groups of monks, as if there were not a single Buddha Dharma. If a country had a wise king, he would not permit this kind of disparity and confusion."

"You should know that the monastery layout and ritual procedures found in today's so-called Ch'an cloisters are all [in accord with] the instructions of the ancestors themselves; they are the direct transmission of the true heirs. Therefore, the ancient [monastery] arrangement of the Seven Buddhas is found only in Ch'an cloisters. Although the designation 'Ch'an cloister' is an improper one, the ritual procedures followed in these cloisters today are in truth the authentic transmission of the Buddhas and ancestors. Thus our (Ch'an) monasteries are the root repository, and the Vinaya and Teachings monasteries are the peripheral branches. Thus the Buddhas and ancestors are the kings of Dharma. When the head of a country is enthroned as king of the whole world, then everyone falls under his rule."[3]

There was no factual basis, of course, for Dōgen's firm conviction that the precise system of monastery organization and practice he experienced in the great Ch'an monasteries of Sung China (and subsequently strove to establish in Japan) had been transmitted, essentially unchanged, from the Buddha Śākyamuni down through all the generations of ancestors in the Ch'an lineage in India and China. One can only marvel at the piety of a man who could hold such a belief as a literal historical fact while arguing, not unreasonably from the critical historian's point of view, that the organization of so-called Vinaya and Teachings monasteries in Sung China could not possibly be the same as that of Buddhist monasteries in ancient India. Even the Sung Ch'an historiographers did not make so heroic a claim: they attributed the arrangement of Ch'an monas-

teries to the T'ang master Pai-chang, not to Śākyamuni! In his later, more mature writings on Buddhist monastic discipline, Dōgen occasionally conceded that certain ritual procedures followed in Chinese monasteries differed slighty, in form if not in spirit, from the Indian procedures established by the Buddha.[4] In any case, it is clear that both Dōgen and Ju-ching, if we are to accept Dōgen's account of his master's teachings, regarded the "Ch'an monasteries" of Sung China not as sectarian institutions, but as heirs to the entire tradition of authentic Buddhist monastic discipline. Ju-ching's statement to the effect that the appellation "Ch'an cloister" was a mistaken one perpetrated by persons ignorant of Buddhism was consonant, of course, with his views on the falsehood of the name "Ch'an lineage."

Those views notwithstanding, Ju-ching did give his tacit approval to Dōgen's belief that there were real differences between so-called Ch'an monasteries and Vinaya and Teachings monasteries. Dōgen conceived of Ch'an cloisters as being inhabited by monks in the lineage of Bodhidharma. He characterized Ch'an cloisters as stressing the practice of seated dhyāna, and implied that were differences in facilities and ritual procedures that also set Ch'an cloisters apart. It is likely that Dōgen's understanding of these differences was gained largely by hearsay, since there is no record of him actually visiting any monasteries in China other than those associated with the Ch'an lineage. He himself felt uncertain enough to consult with Ju-ching on the matter. We may surmise, therefore, that Dōgen's conception of the different classes of monasteries represented a commonly held view in Southern Sung Ch'an circles. Ju-ching's outlook on the matter was somewhat different from that of the mainstream, but on the whole he confirmed Dōgen's understanding.

In his statement to Ju-ching, Dōgen made an assumption that is frequently found in the Sung historiography, and indeed is often still made by scholars today: he presumed that the divisions between Ch'an, Teachings, and Vinaya monasteries common

in his day had existed since the T'ang dynasty or even earlier. This was the one point on which Ju-ching felt constrained to correct Dōgen, stating that the differentiation of monasteries was a recent and misguided practice, blameable in part on interference by ignorant government ministers.

The monastery name plaques to which Ju-ching referred in this connection were large sign boards, engraved with the name of a monastery as given by imperial edict, hung for all to see above the portals of the main gate (*cheng shan-men*). In many cases these plaques included not only the name of a monastery, but also the designation "Ch'an monastery," "Vinaya monastery," or "Teachings monastery," sometimes preceded by the phrase "by imperial bestowal" (*ch'ih-tz'u*). Thus, for example, about the time when Dōgen was in China the Ching-te Ling-yin Monastery on Mt. Pei had a name plaque which read, "By Imperial Bestowal, the Ching-te Ling-yin Ch'an Monastery" (*ch'ih-tz'u ching-te ling-yin ch'an-ssu*).[5] As Ju-ching implied, the appellations "Ch'an," "Vinaya," and "Teachings" that were appended to a monastery's name in this fashion were in fact decided by state bureaucrats (who were lobbied by monks belonging to one or another Buddhist faction) and formalized by imperial edict. These appellations moreover, could be (and occasionally were) changed by proclamation of the emperor.[6] If a monastery was officially designated as a Ch'an cloister, this meant that the abbacy (*chu-ch'ih*) could only be filled by a qualified monk belonging to the Ch'an lineage. The abbacy of officially regulated Teachings cloisters was restricted to monks of the T'ien-t'ai lineage, and the abbacy of Vinaya cloisters was reserved for monks belonging to the Nan-shan Vinaya lineage.

Ju-ching's assertion that the division of Buddhist monasteries into these various categories was a development that took place in the Sung is one that warrants careful examination. Insofar as there actually were Buddhist monasteries in the T'ang that had the words "*ch'an* cloister" (*ch'an-yüan*) and "Vinaya cloister" (*lü-yüan*) in their names, it would seem that Ju-ching was mistaken. However, it is wrong to assume that the

expression "*ch'an* cloister" necessarily meant the same thing in the T'ang that it meant in the Sung. In some pre-Sung contexts, such as the names of the Hsiu-ch'an Monastery (*Hsiu-ch'an-ssu*) and the Fo-lung Chih-che Ch'an Cloister (*Fo-lung chih-che ch'an-yüan*) on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, "*ch'an*" clearly indicated the practice of dhyāna and not any sort of lineage grouping or doctrinal affiliation. Imperially bestowed monastery name plaques were also well known in the T'ang, but again, it does not seem that they ever designated a monastery as belonging to a particular school of Buddhism, or that they served to restrict the abbacy to monks of a particular Dharma lineage. This is a matter requiring further research, but preliminary indications are that the kind of official designation of classes of monasteries that Ju-ching complained about was indeed a practice that first became widespread in the Northern Sung dynasty.[7] As we shall see, however, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* makes the claim that the system of choosing only abbots in the Ch'an lineage to head Ch'an monasteries was something that began in the ninth century with Pai-chang.

Although cast in the form of criticism of prevailing views, Ju-ching's reply to Dōgen sheds considerable light on the distinctions that were commonly drawn among different groups of Buddhist monks and monasteries in the Southern Sung. For one thing, it suggests that monks who specialized in esoteric (Tantric) Buddhism, and were regarded as belonging to the so-called "Yoga" lineage stemming from Amoghavajra, either did not congregate in their own monastic communities, or were not sufficiently influential to gain official recognition in the form of imperially bestowed name plaques. Ju-ching's remarks also reveal that the so-called Disciple cloisters mentioned by Dōgen as the fourth type of Buddhist monastery were not associated with any particular lineage of Dharma inheritance.

The expression "Disciple cloister" (*t'u-ti-yüan*) as it was used in the Southern Sung referred to monasteries in which the abbacy was passed on to the leading disciple of the retiring abbot and the selection of outsiders to the post was precluded.

Another name for the monasteries that fell under this rule, which had the force of a civil ordinance, was "cloister passed on to disciples" (*tu-ti-yüan*).[8] Disciple cloisters were, in short, semi-private institutions that were open only to the disciples of the abbot. As a class of Buddhist institution, the Disciple cloisters stood in contrast to so-called "monasteries of the ten directions" (*shih-fang ch'a*). The latter were large public monasteries that were, in theory at least, the property of the entire Buddhist Sangha and therefore open to all Buddhist monks and nuns. The distinguishing feature of the "monasteries of the ten directions" was a system in which the abbots were selected from a pool of all the qualified candidates, regardless of their relation to the outgoing abbot.

The large public "monasteries of ten directions," however, were precisely the ones that were most often favored in the Sung with imperially bestowed plaques, and designated as "Ch'an," "Vinaya," or "Teachings" monasteries. Their abbacies, therefore, were neither restricted to the disciples of former abbots nor completely open to all Buddhist monks: they were open, rather, to all suitable candidates who belonged to a certain broadly defined lineage grouping. The Ching-te Monastery on Mt. T'ien-t'ung, where Dōgen studied under Ju-ching, makes a good case in point. When Dōgen first visited Mt. T'ien-t'ung in 1223, the abbot was Wu-chi Liao-p'ai (d. 1224), a monk in the Yang-ch'i branch of the Lin-chi lineage. When he returned again in 1225, Wu-chi had died, and Ju-ching, who belonged to the Ts'ao-tung lineage, had been appointed abbot. The abbacy of the Ching-te Monastery at the time was restricted to Ch'an monks, but it was open to monks in all branches of the Ch'an lineage. When the monastery was originally rebuilt with imperial patronage in 759 at the location where Dōgen found it, it was given the name plaque "T'ien-t'ung Ling-lung Monastery" (*T'ien-t'ung ling-lung-ssu*).[9] Later, during the reign of the emperor Wu-tsung (841-846), it was officially designated a "monastery of the ten directions." Its name was changed to T'ien-shou Monastery (*T'ien-shou-ssu*) in 869. It was only in 1007, the fifth

year of the Ching-te era of the Northern Sung dynasty, that its name was changed to Ching-te Ch'an Monastery (*Ching-te ch'an-ssu*), and its abbacy was restricted to monks of the Ch'an lineage. Not only Mt. T'ien-t'ung, but many of the other prominent Ch'an monasteries in the Southern Sung had also become "Ch'an" institutions by imperial declaration rather late in their histories, after the founding of the Northern Sung in 960. For example, the Kuang-li Ch'an Monastery on Mt. A-yü-wang (also visited by Dōgen) was given its name and declared a "Ch'an monastery of the ten directions" (*shih-fang ch'an-ch'a*) by imperial decree in 1008.[10] Prior to that time it had had a long history of patronage by the T'ang emperors, and no association with a "Ch'an lineage."

There is no question that by the Southern Sung, a majority of "monasteries of the ten quarters" that received state patronage had come to be designated as Ch'an institutions. Evidence of this is found in the *Gozan jissatsu zu* (*Charts of the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*), a collection of drawings and diagrams preserved in Japan that represent the ground plans, furnishings and other physical features of major Chinese monasteries in the early thirteenth century.[11] One of the charts in this work records what was written on the main gate name plaques, most of which were imperially bestowed, of some 88 large public monasteries. In all, 48 out the 88 monasteries listed were designated as Ch'an monasteries or cloisters; 9 were designated as Teachings monasteries or cloisters; 4 were designated as Vinaya monasteries or cloisters; and the remaining 27 had nothing in their names to indicate any association with a particular lineage.[12] Whether those 27 monasteries were Disciple cloisters, or perhaps true "ten quarter" institutions open to abbots of any lineage (Ch'an and other), is an interesting question that must await further research. In any case, the evidence of the *Gozan jissatsu zu* lends credence to Dōgen's statement that, "What are now called Ch'an cloisters are the empire's great monasteries."[13] The *Gozan jissatsu zu* is generally regarded today as a valuable source of information on the

arrangement of "Ch'an" monasteries in the Southern Sung. That is true, but it would be more accurate to say that the text contains information on the leading Chinese Buddhist monasteries of the day, many (but not all) of which happened to be called Ch'an monasteries.

The Network of the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries

The title of the *Gozan jissatsu zu* refers to a network of monasteries known as the "five mountains and ten monasteries" (*wu-shan shih-ch'a*) that was established under government auspices in the Southern Sung. This network is thought to have been made up of some fifty Ch'an monasteries organized hierarchically in three ranks, namely the "five mountains" (*wu-shan*), "ten monasteries" (*shih-ch'a*), and "various mountains" (*chu-shan*) (the term "mountain" in this context, of course, simply means "monastery"). There is not a great deal of documentary evidence dealing with the Chinese "five mountains and ten monasteries." Much of what scholars have concluded about it has been inferred from a similar arrangement of Zen monasteries, presumed to have been based closely on the Chinese model, that was established in Japan in the 13th century.[14] Dōgen, in his remarks to Ju-ching quoted above, stated that Ch'an cloisters were the 'leading monasteries' (*chia-ch'a*) and 'various mountains' (*chu-shan*) in China,[15] but it is not certain that he had any formal system of ranking monasteries in mind. In any case, it is clear that he used those terms to refer to the greatest monasteries in the land, not to the lower tiers of the five mountains hierarchy.

My own reading of the Chinese evidence is that the establishment of the so-called five mountains system in China sometime during the Ning-tsung era (1195-1224) actually involved little more than the promulgation by the government of a set of procedural guidelines regulating the promotion of Buddhist monks to high rank in the public monasteries. In order to qualify for the abbacy of one of the five mountains, a monk first

had to be promoted through a series of lesser administrative posts in the monastic bureaucracy (serving in one or more of the public monasteries), and then had to serve as abbot in each of the lower two tiers of public monasteries. The first step on the ladder of administrative posts in the large public monasteries seems to have been to serve as an attendant (*shih-che*) to the abbot. The most direct path to an abbacy then led upward through the western ranks (*hsi-pan*) of monastic offices, including service as sutra prefect (*tsang-chu*) and scribe (*shu-chi*), and a mandatory stint as "chief seat" (*shou-tso*), a position which involved leading the entire body of monks in training.[16] Having completed a period of service in a particular monastic office, a monk would receive a certificate from the abbot vouching to that fact. Such certificates were modeled after ones used to regulate promotions in the civil bureaucracy, and served a similar function within the state controlled ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is unlikely that the establishment of this system had any great impact on the organization of Buddhist monastic institutions. It seems, rather, to have given official recognition to the status that various monasteries already enjoyed as leading Buddhist centers, and to have standardized and formalized the existing path of promotion so as to give even greater control over the Buddhist order to the civil authorities.

Ch'an Inheritance Certificates

Given the official designation of many of the imperially patronized "monasteries of the ten quarters" as Ch'an, Vinaya or Teachings monasteries, Buddhist monks in the Sung who aspired to high ecclesiatical rank had no choice but to affiliate themselves with one of the three favored Dharma lineages. For the majority, because the preponderance of monasteries were restricted to Ch'an abbots, the best chance for advancement in the ecclesiatical hierarchy was to gain recognition as a Dharma heir (*fa-ssu*) in one of the Ch'an lineages. Practically speaking, this entailed becoming the personal disciple (*ju-shih ti-*

tzu; literally, "disciple who enters the [master's] room") of a monk who was himself certified as a Dharma heir in a recognized lineage, and obtaining a written certificate of Dharma inheritance from him.

The great significance of "inheritance certificates" (*ssu-shu*) in the world of Sung Chinese Buddhism was attested to by Dōgen in the chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō* entitled *Shisho* (*Inheritance Certificates*).[17] These certificates were, on the one hand, potent religious symbols which linked the holder (and even the vicarious beholder) directly to the source of the holy, Śākyamuni Buddha. There were some minor differences in style, but in general they were written in such a way that the names of all the persons through whom the Dharma was believed to have been transmitted, beginning with the first Indian ancestor Mahākāśyapa and ending with the holder of the document, were arranged in a circle around the name of Śākyamuni, and connected by a continuous line running through each name.[18] As sacred objects, inheritance certificates were kept carefully wrapped in fine cloth and were rarely displayed. The opportunity to witness one, and to worship it with prostrations and offerings of incense, was considered (by Dōgen at least) a most auspicious occurrence.

On the other hand, inheritance certificates were actually legal documents recognized by the civil authorities as proof of succession to a Dharma lineage. Such proof was necessary if a monk, having come up through the lower ranks of the monastic bureaucracy, was ever to succeed to the abbacy of a "Ch'an monastery of the ten directions." Dōgen vividly recounts the many abuses that arose from this requirement, as ambitious monks tried to get their hands on inheritance certificates or facsimiles thereof by pestering Ch'an masters for their autographed portraits and samples of their calligraphy, and bribed officials not to scrutinize their Dharma transmission documents too closely.[19] He reports that inheritance certificates were routinely given to senior monastic officers, presumably so that their way to an abbacy would not be blocked.[20]

Ch'an Masters and Disciples

Eminent monks in the Sung who were Dharma heirs in one of the branches of the Ch'an lineage were generally referred to as Ch'an masters (*ch'an-shih*). Their counterparts in the T'ien-t'ai lineage were called Dharma masters (*fa-shih*), and those in the Vinaya lineage were called Vinaya masters (*lü-shih*).[21] Now, the terms *ch'an-shih*, *fa-shih*, and *lü-shih* had all been in use in Chinese Buddhism from at least the sixth century, but it cannot be assumed that their meanings remained unchanged over all that time. Let us briefly examine the usage of these terms in pre-Sung sources.

In the *Kao-seng fa-hsien chuan* (*Record of the Eminent Monk Fa-hsien*), the Chinese pilgrim monk Fa-hsien (traveled to India 399-414) used the term *lü-shih* to refer to those persons in a community of Indian monks and nuns (in the city of Muttra) who made worshipful offerings before a stupa dedicated to the Vinaya.[22] He described Abhidharma masters (*a-p'i-t'an-shih*) in exactly the same terms -- as worshiping before a stupa dedicated to the Abhidharma, and further stated that nuns worshipped at Ānanda's stupa, that novices (*shami*) worshipped at Rāhula's, and that followers of the Mahāyāna (*mo-ho-yen-jen*) made offerings to Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara and the like.[23] Each of these groups, he wrote, had their own day for such worship in a great joint festival that occurred annually. The festival also involved receiving offerings from the laity. It is clear from Fa-hsien's description that he understood the group of *lü-shih* to be a sort of subdivision within the Sangha that was comprised of fully ordained males who specialized in studying the Vinaya, just as others specialized in Abhidharma or sūtra study. He made no mention of *ch'an-shih* or *fa-shih* anywhere in his record: perhaps these terms had not yet come into use in China (and hence were entirely unknown to Fa-hsien), or perhaps they were already in use in China but simply did not correspond to any divisions in the Sangha that Fa-hsien encountered in Central Asia and India. The regular practice of

the Sangha at Muttra, Fa-hsien reported, consisted of performing meritorious works, reciting sūtras, and sitting in dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*).[24] There may have been some monks who concentrated more on dhyāna practice than others, but if so Fa-hsien did not see fit to mention them as a distinct group.

The terms *ch'an-shih* and *fa-shih* do appear, albeit infrequently, in the *Kao-seng chuan*[25] (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*) by Hui-chao (497-554). For example, in the section of the text devoted to dhyāna practitioners (*hsi-ch'an*), Buddhabhadra (359-429), an Indian monk who was invited to China to teach dhyāna, is referred to as a *ch'an-shih*.[26] Most of the other monks treated in the same section, however, are not so designated. It seems that the practice of affixing the terms *ch'an-shih* or *fa-shih* to individuals' names as a kind of descriptive title was just coming into vogue at the time the *Kao-seng chuan* was written.[27] It is not clear why Hui-chao chose to refer to some dhyāna specialists as *ch'an-shih* and others not, but it is certain that he did not use that term to indicate a particular institutional or doctrinal affiliation, or anything like a lineage of Dharma inheritance. The same may be said about his use of the term *fa-shih*, the meaning of which is unclear and can only be inferred from later sources.

In Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, I-ching's *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei fa chuan*[28] (*A Record of the Dharma in India and the Land en Route*), and most other sources dating from the seventh century, the term *ch'an-shih* indicates monks who are well accomplished in the theory or practice of dhyāna, though not necessarily to the exclusion of other forms of Buddhist training. The title *lü-shih* is generally given to monks who specialized in studying Vinaya texts and carrying out the ritual procedures described in them, such as administering the precepts (*shou-chiai*). The term *fa-shih*, finally, is used as a term of respect for monks who specialized in studying and lecturing on various sutras and commentaries. The last was not reserved for, nor even necessarily applied to, followers of the T'ien-t'ai school. In fact, the founding father of that school, Chih-i

(538-597), was generally regarded as a *ch'an-shih* by his own disciples and by succeeding generations of Buddhists.

I-ching (635-713) informs us that his instructor in doctrinal matters (*chiao-shih*; Skt., *upādhyāya* ?) from the age of seven was a Dharma master (*fa-shih*) named Shan-yü, and that his instructor in monkish discipline (*kuei-fan-shih*; Skt., *ācārya*) at the same time was a dhyāna master (*ch'an-shih*) named Hui-chih.[29] Both monks were respected elders in the Shen-t'ung Monastery, which had been constructed by the dhyāna master Lang. The Dharma master Shan-yü, as I-ching describes him, was an immensely learned monk who was versed in secular literature as well as the Buddhist sūtras, and who was particularly devoted to reading the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.[30] When he was not studying scriptures, he meditated (*nien*) on the Buddha Amitābha, and decorated the sūtra library for worship services. The impression we get is of a monk who merited the title of Dharma master by virtue of his mastery of scripture, but who also was involved in a number of other religious practices. I-ching describes the dhyāna master Hui-chih as a monk who devoted himself assiduously to the etiquette prescribed in the Vinaya, who never missed any of the six daily worship services, and who recited the *Lotus Sutra* every day.[31] Presumably he also practiced dhyāna, although there is little in I-ching's description of him to suggest it, save the observation that he was always mentally calm and even-tempered, regardless of the circumstances around him.

These portraits afford us some insight into what the terms *fa-shih* and *ch'an-shih* meant when they were applied to real persons in the late seventh century. The terms were not used to indicate institutional affiliations or Dharma lineages, for both Shan-yü and Hui-chih resided in the same monastery, and both were disciples of the same teacher -- the dhyāna master Lang. Rather, *fa-shih* and *ch'an-shih* seem to have been respectful titles that reflected a monk's mastery of (not necessarily an exclusive devotion to) a particular area of Buddhist practice. It is also noteworthy that a great many of the dhyāna

masters treated in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* were, like I-ching's teacher Hui-chih, depicted as adhering strictly to the various rules of monkish discipline found in the Vinaya.[32]

Returning now to the question of the Sung usage of the terms *ch'an-shih*, *fa-shih*, and *lü-shih*, it is evident that their primary function was to signify membership in a Dharma lineage, and that they only secondarily indicated specialization in a particular area of Buddhist practice. There were, to be sure, Ch'an masters such as Ju-ching in the Sung who stressed the practice of seated dhyāna. But there were also many other Ch'an masters, such as Yung-ming Yen-shou, who specialized in Pure Land practice, the study of sūtras and commentaries, the compilation of lamp histories and recorded sayings literature, or the study of rules of monastic discipline. In short, there were in the Sung numerous Ch'an masters who, based on their actual activities, might in an earlier age have been called *fa-shih* or *lü-shih* rather than *ch'an-shih*. Indeed, as we saw in the *Shih-men lin-chien* passage quoted by Dōgen, Ch'an masters in the Sung were often at pains to deny that their lineage transmitted the practice of *ch'an* in the sense of dhyāna.

As may be inferred from the preceding discussion, the term *ch'an-shih* underwent a significant shift in meaning sometime between the turn of the eighth century and the emergence of the Ch'an school as the dominant force in Chinese Buddhism in the Sung. Exactly when and how this shift occurred -- the change was a gradual one that has left us with much ambiguous evidence -- are questions that I shall have to leave for some other occasion. Suffice it to note here that when the Sung historiographers encountered the term *ch'an-shih* in sources dating from the T'ang or earlier, they tended to selectively read in their own understanding of that term, thereby appropriating this or that ancient dhyāna master as a member of the Ch'an lineage. They could not, of course, include all of the *ch'an-shih* mentioned in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* in their lineage, and so were constrained to dismiss many of them as "merely" dhyāna practitioners (*hsi-ch'an*).[33]

As we know from Dōgen's critical remarks on the subject, the disciples of Ch'an masters in the Sung referred to themselves as Ch'an monks (*ch'an-ho-tzu*) or members of the Ch'an school (*ch'an-chia liu*).[34] But what exactly did it mean to be a "Ch'an monk" in the Sung? Since Ch'an masters were not necessarily dhyāna specialists, Ch'an monks could not have been distinguished by their practice of dhyāna, either. It is clear that Buddhist monks who trained in one of the public Ch'an monasteries under the guidance of a certified Ch'an lineage abbot, and perhaps aspired themselves to receive formal Dharma inheritance in the Ch'an lineage, thought of themselves as "Ch'an monks." But was there any sort of formal affiliation with the Ch'an lineage, recognized within the Buddhist community and by the government, that was open to the great majority of monks who had not yet or would never obtain a Ch'an inheritance certificate? Could a person, for example, be ordained as a "Ch'an" monk or "Ch'an" lay follower? These are the questions to which the following section is devoted.

Ch'an Ordinations

Like many other facets of the Buddhist order's institutional presence in Sung China, the ordination of monks and nuns was a matter that was closely controlled by the state. By requiring monks and nuns to carry official certificates of ordination,[35] and placing restrictions on the times, places and ritual procedures for holding legal ordination ceremonies, the government contrived to limit the population of the Buddhist clergy and prevent the abuse of privileges accorded the order (such as exemption from taxation) by persons posing as monks. These measures were not new to the Sung; they had been well established in one form or another throughout the T'ang. One tactic used by the state to control ordinations was to establish officially approved ordination platforms (*chiai-t'an*) at a few selected monasteries, and to restrict the performance of ordination ceremonies to monks who specialized in Vinaya studies.[36] Another

device was to take the Buddhist tradition's own ancient rules for the full ordination Bhikkus or Bhikkunis, rules that were found in Hīnayāna Vinaya texts translated from Indic languages, and give them the force of civil ordinances. In order to become a full-fledged Buddhist monk (*ta-seng*) in Sung China, one had to formally receive both the ten novice precepts (*sha-mi chiai*) and the complete precepts (*chü-tsu chiai*), that is, the 250 rules for monks (more for nuns) of the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa*.[37] A monk's seniority in the Buddhist order was reckoned on the basis of when he received the complete precepts. Moreover, only fully ordained monks and nuns were allowed to travel on pilgrimages (*hang-chio*), hold offices in public monasteries, or even register (*kua-ta*) as full-fledged trainees in the Sangha halls (*seng-t'ang*) of public monasteries.[38]

In order to explain the use of Hīnayāna Vinaya materials in Chinese Buddhism, which was overwhelmingly Mahāyānist in its doctrinal orientation from the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties onward, it will be necessary to digress briefly and take note of certain aspects of the historical evolution of Buddhist monastic institutions in India and China. In the first place, it should be understood that all of the schools of Indian Buddhism that handed down well developed *Vinaya-piṭaka* belonged to the Hīnayāna tradition. Mahāyānists in India and Central Asia, as we know from the records of Chinese monks such as Fa-hsien who made pilgrimages to India, did tend to congregate in their own monastic communities.[39] It seems, however, that they were generally content to rely on the established (i.e. "Hīnayāna") Vinaya for guidance in matters pertaining to monastic organization and monkish etiquette, while shifting their attention away from the traditional moral precepts (*prātimokṣa*) for individual monks, and stresing the practice of so-called Bodhisattva precepts (*bodhisattva saṃvara*).

The Vinaya literature transmitted from India and Central Asia to China in the fifth through seventh centuries included a number of recensions of the full-blown Hīnayāna *Vinaya-piṭaka* as well as Mahāyāna texts containing formulations of Bodhisat-

tva precepts.[40] Chinese Buddhists inherited from India the fundamental problem of how to integrate the ideals of the Mahāyāna with the ancient forms of Buddhist monastic discipline. They also faced difficulties that were unique to China, namely, how to interpret and collate variant rules found in different recensions of the Hīnayāna Vinaya, and how to adapt those rules to their own society and culture. The Chinese solution to these problems, which followed the Indian precedent as best it could, was to graft a Mahāyāna *Prātimokṣa* (the Bodhisattva precepts) onto the Hīnayāna Vinaya, and reformulate the latter by writing commentaries and procedural guidelines that explained its import and application. It should be noted that the Chinese schools of Vinaya interpretation, among which Tao-hsüan's Nan-shan school proved the most influential, were actually Mahāyānist in their doctrinal outlook. The "Hīnayāna" Vinaya was used in China as the basis for formulating rules of monastic organization and procedure for the simple reason that the Indian Mahāyāna tradition had never produced any comparable guidelines.

The movement to formulate and promote Mahāyāna precepts flourished greatly in T'ang China. As we shall see, many figures associated by historians with the Ch'an lineage in the T'ang were in the thick of this movement. They promulgated radically redefined versions of traditional Buddhist moral codes, such as the "formless precepts" (*wu-hsiang-chiai*) that are found in the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Ancestor*), and held great assemblies for administering those precepts to monks and laymen.[41] There was an initiative in some quarters, also including branches of what scholars now call the Ch'an lineage, to do away entirely with reliance on the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa* in the ordination of Buddhist monks.[42] This movement, as it turned out, reached full fruition only in Japan, where a different set of political circumstances made it possible for Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai school, to get permission from the government to ordain monks using only the Bodhisattva precepts.[43] In China, where the government

was ever anxious to enforce discipline within the Buddhist order and to maintain control over it, formal acceptance of the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa* on an approved ordination platform remained a fundamental requirement for ordination.

That requirement, in any case, certainly applied to the full-fledged monks and nuns who trained in the great public monasteries designated as Ch'an institutions in the Sung, just as it did to those who resided in any other monasteries. All alike were ordained by Vinaya masters as members of the *Buddhist* order, without regard for matters of lineage, and all were free to register for training in any "monastery of the ten quarters."

It is clear from the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, the oldest extant "Ch'an" code (compiled 1003), that matters concerning proper ordination and the observance of rules of monastic discipline layed down in Hīnayāna Vinaya texts were taken very seriously in Sung Ch'an monasteries. The following passage is the opening section of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, entitled "receiving the precepts" (*shou-chiai*), translated here in its entirety:

> All the Buddhas of the three times [past, present and future] attain enlightenment after having gone forth from the home (*ch'u-chia*). The twenty-eight ancestors in India and the six ancestors in China through whom the seal of the Buddha Mind was transmitted were all monks (*sha-men*). For only by adhering strictly to the pure Vinaya (*bi-ni*) can one set a standard that reaches throughout the three realms [the realms of desire, form, and formlessness]. For this reason, in practicing Ch'an and investigating the Way (*ts'an-ch'an wen-tao*), the precepts (*chiai-lü*) are considered primary. If one has not freed himself from transgressions and warded off sins, how could one attain Buddhahood and become an ancestor?
>
> With regard to the procedure for receiving the precepts (*shou-chiai*), one should be prepared with the three surplices (*san-i*), bowls, implements, and clean new robes. If one does not have new robes, then one should purify the old ones by redying them prior to entering the platform and receiving the precepts. It is not permitted to use borrowed robes and bowls. Concentrate singlemindedly and take the utmost care not to make a mistake in any of the details. It is no trifling matter

> to take on the appearance of Buddha [i.e. by dressing as a monk], gird oneself with Buddha's precepts, and obtain the ease of Buddha [i.e. be supported by the laity]: how could one take it lightly? If one's robes bowls have been borrowed, even if one mounts the platform and receives the precepts, one has not truly obtained them. And if [due to this mistake] one has not received them, one will go through one's entire life as a person without precepts. Such a person grossly corrupts Buddhism, and vainly squanders the donations of the faithful. Those who have first resolved to enter the path are not well versed in the procedures. If teachers do not speak [on the subject of how to properly receive the precepts], they lead men into this [corruption of Buddhism].
>
> The admonition given here is harsh [but necessary]. Would that it be taken to heart! Having received the Śrāvaka [i.e. Hīnayāna] precepts, one should receive the Bodhisattva precepts (*p'u-sa chiai*). This is the progression to follow in entering the Dharma.[44]

The second section of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, entitled "upholding the precepts" (*hu-chiai*), reads as follows:

> After receiving the precepts, one should always uphold them. It is better to keep the rules and die than to have no rules and live. [The rules to be followed are] those in the Hīnayāna *Ssu-fen-lü*[45] (*Four Part Vinaya*): the 4 *pārājika* rules; the 13 *saṃghāvaśeṣa* rules; the 2 *aniyata* rules; the 30 *niḥsargika* rules; the 90 *pāyantika* rules; the 4 *pratideśanīya* rules; the 100 *śaikṣa* rules; and the 7 *adhikaraṇa-śamatha* rules.[46] Further rules to be followed are in the Mahāyāna *Fan-wang-ching*[47] (*Sutra of Brahma's Net*): the 10 cardinal [precepts] and the 48 lesser [precepts].[48]
>
> One must read and recite all of these, thoroughly understand their benefits, and know well [the difference between] upholding and breaking [them], revealing and concealing [one's faults]. One must not act as one pleases, following along with the vulgar crowd, while speaking fine words and giving only lip service [to the precepts]. One should submit to all the restrictions, such as those concerning improper foods and eating at improper times. The afflictions of wealth and lust are more grievous and more to be avoided than poisonous snakes. Be compassionate toward living beings, as if toward an infant. Speak the truth in such a way that ones thoughts and ones words are in complete accord. Read and recite the Mahāyāna scriptures, and give rise to vows of practice. When one is pure in morality (*shih-lo*), the Buddha Dharma manifests itself. When no skin remains, where will hair grow? Thus the [Lotus] sutra says, "Energetically uphold the pure precepts as

though guarding a bright jewel."[49]

These, then, are the first two sections of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, the oldest surviving "Ch'an" monastic code, and historically the most influential of all such codes used in public monasteries during the Sung. It is quite obvious that the author of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, Chang-lu Tsung-tse (dates unknown), did not consider the set of monastic rules and regulations he compiled to be a replacement for the Hīnayana Vinaya, at least with regard to matters of ordination. There is nothing in the text to suggest even the slightest movement toward replacing the traditional Chinese Buddhist ordination with any sort of "Ch'an" ordination. On the contrary, Tsung-tse strongly reaffirmed the arrangement in which acceptance of the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa* was definitive of Buddhist monkhood, and acceptance of the Bodhisattva precepts was an additional, spiritually salutary step to be taken later. For Tsung-tse, a Ch'an monk was first and foremost a Buddhist monk. Indeed, he asserted that all of the Buddhas and ancestors in the Ch'an lineage had been fully ordained monks, and even went so far as to suggest that receiving the complete precepts was a prerequisite for attaining enlightenment and inheriting the seal of the Buddha Mind. So much for the Mahāyāna ideal of the enlightened lay Bodhisattva!

The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* contains detailed procedural guidelines and liturgical texts for use in the ceremony of administering the ten (Hīnayāna) novice precepts (*shih sha-mi chiai*),[50] the reception of which marked the initial transition from laity to monkhood (*ch'u-chia*) and was the occasion for first shaving the head and donning monkish robes. There is no question that this ceremony was performed in Ch'an monasteries in the Sung, and that it was considered a major ritual event requiring the attendance of the abbot and the entire community of fully ordained monks. There is little in the actual contents of the ritual, however, to suggest that it was unique to Ch'an monasteries, and nothing at all to indicate that it was used to ordain novices as "Ch'an" monks. In one of the homilies to be

read by the precept master (*chiai-shih*) in the course of the ceremony, reference is made to the six generations of (Ch'an) ancestral teachers, the point being that none of them remained householders (*tsai-chia*).[51] This remark, which was clearly intended to enhance the prestige of the novice precepts by suggesting that the Ch'an ancestors kept them faithfully, would only be appropriate in a setting where most of the audience was assumed to be sympathetic to the Ch'an lineage. In most other respects, however, the liturgy and procedural guidelines for the novice ordination found in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* were based closely on Tao-hsüan's commentary on the *Ssu-fen-lü*, the *Ssu-fen-lü hsing-shih ch'ao*.[52] They were, in short, scarcely different from the standard procedures for administering the novice precepts that were widely used throughout Chinese Buddhism in the T'ang and Sung.

Neither the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* nor any subsequent codes for Ch'an monasteries contain procedural guidelines for administering the complete precepts. While less than conclusive as evidence, this fact suggests that official ordination platforms were generally not established at monasteries designated as Ch'an institutions, although they could have been located in nearby cloisters. Thus, even if a monk had received the novice precepts in a Ch'an monastery, he would have been obliged to go elsewhere to receive the full precepts before being allowed to join the main body of trainees who occupied places on the meditation platforms in the monastery's Sangha hall.

A number of other sections of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* are also devoted to, and partially based on, procedures that are explained in Hīnayāna Vinaya texts such as the *Ssu-fen-lü* and associated commentaries. The sections on the accoutrements (*pien-tao-chü*) permitted a monk, the opening and closing of monastic retreats (*chieh-hsia*, *chiai-hsia*), and the procedures for meals (*fu-chu-fan*) are examples of this. To reiterate the point made above, Tsung-tse obviously did not conceive of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* as a replacement for the Vinaya. He presented the text, rather, as a supplement to the traditional

Vinaya materials, one which reflected the procedures actually followed in a number of Ch'an monasteries that he visited around the end of the eleventh century. Tsung-tse also claimed to be following in the footsteps of Pai-chang, whose legendary role as the founding father of the first Ch'an monastery he accepted without question. There was nothing contradictory or ambivalent in this stance, for the source of the Pai-chang legend as it was known to Tsung-tse, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, explicitly stated that Pai-chang himself combined elements of the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinayas.[53]

The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* mentions the Bodhisattva precepts only twice: once at the end of the section on receiving the precepts quoted above, and once in the section entitled "assisting lay followers" (*ch'in t'an-hsin*).[54] In the latter context, the text recommends administering the "major pure precepts of the Bodhisattva" (*p'u-sa ch'ing-ching ta-chiai*) to laymen who have received and been able to uphold the five precepts (*wu-chiai*).[55] Nowhere, however, does the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* explain the ritual procedure for giving the Bodhisattva precepts. We are left without any indication from this source whether there was anything in the ceremony of administering the Bodhisattva precepts to monks or laymen in Northern Sung Ch'an monasteries that might have amounted to an initiation into the Ch'an lineage.

At least by the end of the twelfth century, however, the practice had arisen in Ch'an circles of granting the Bodhisattva precepts to monks and laymen as a symbol of their association with the Ch'an lineage. The best account of this practice is found in the writings of Dōgen, in the chapter of his *Shōbōgenzō* entitled *Jukai*[56] (*Receiving the Precepts*) and in his *Busso shōden bosatsu-kai sahō*[57] (*Ritual Procedures for the Bodhisattva Precepts Authentically Transmitted by the Buddhas and Ancestors*). In 1225, Dōgen was given the Bodhisattva precepts by his teacher Ju-ching, and received a document that affirmed his succession to a "Bodhisattva precept lineage" (*p'u-sa chiai-me*) said to have been transmitted from the Buddhas and

ancestors down through Bodhidharma and Hui-neng.[58] This "precept lineage" was conceived as being parallel to the lineage of Dharma transmission, and in a sense identical with it, since the ancestors in both genealogies were exactly the same. In any case, Dōgen received, on two separate occasions, a document from Ju-ching certifying his membership in the precept lineage of the Buddhas and ancestors, and another document (an "inheritance certificate") attesting that he was a Dharma heir in the lineage of the Buddhas and ancestors. Ju-ching's bestowal of the Bodhisattva precepts on Dōgen has been interpreted by some scholars as an act of formal recognition that was on a par with his recognition of Dōgen as a Dharma heir.[59] The administering of the Bodhisattva precepts by Ch'an masters in Sung China, however, seems to have been a widespread, popular ritual, and not one which signified any particular attainment on the part of the recipients.[60] As was recommended in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, laymen as well as monks were given the Bodhisattva precepts. Moreover, if we may judge from the practice established by Dōgen in Japan (and Dōgen was truly a stickler for doing things exactly the way they were done in China), laymen who received the Bodhisattva precepts were given documents formally linking them to the Ch'an lineage of Buddhas and ancestors.

Insofar as receiving the Bodhisattva precepts from a Ch'an master served to link ordinary monks and laymen in a formal way with the Ch'an ancestral lineage, we may perhaps regard this ritual as a sort of "Ch'an" ordination. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the actual contents of the ritual, apart from the bestowing of a Ch'an lineage document, was in any way the invention of or unique to the Ch'an school. On the contary, what we see here is an attempt by proponents of the Ch'an lineage to appropriate and take credit for a mode of religious practice that was really the common heritage of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The Bodhisattva precepts given by Ch'an masters in the Southern Sung usually consisted of three sets of vows, with a

total of sixteen individual precepts: (1) the "precepts of the three refuges" (*san-kuei-chiai*), (2) the "three groups of pure precepts (*san-chü ch'ing-ching chiai*), and (3) the ten "major pure precepts of a Bodhisattva" (*p'u-sa ch'ing-ching ta-chiai*). The precepts of the three refuges were based on the formula of taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. At an early stage in the development of the Buddhist religion in India, the formula of the threefold refuge was probably used by itself to formally initiate monks as members of the order.[61] This may be inferred from the fact that taking the threefold refuge remained the first step in ordination rituals that evolved subsequently, such as those which entailed taking the ten novice precepts or the five precepts for lay followers. The so-called "three groups of pure precepts" represented a formula that had been developed in Indian Mahāyāna texts, and variously interpreted by Chinese commentators in the Sui and T'ang.[62] The ten major Bodhisattva precepts were the ten cardinal precepts found in the *Fan-wang ching*, a text of Chinese provenance that was based on a number of Indian sources.[63] Far from being handed down through a "Ch'an" ancestral lineage, the Bodhisattva precepts as they were used by Ch'annists in the Sung were the product of a long process of development that had begun in India and had reached fruition in T'ang China, with input from Mahāyāna Buddhists belonging to a broad spectrum of doctrinal schools and approaches to practice.

Ch'an Monastic Codes

As was noted in the General Introduction, the promulgation of monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*) that are purported to be "distinctively Ch'an" is often held up by scholars as evidence of the independent status of the Ch'an monastic institution in the Sung. A thorough study of the Sung and Yüan Ch'an monastic codes that have come down to us is beyond the scope of the present dissertation, but there are several observations that I would like to make about the nature of these texts.

In the first place, it should be borne in mind that only two of the texts that have come down to us from the Sung and Yüan are actually called monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*) for "Ch'an monasteries" (*ch'an-yüan*, *ch'an-lin*): the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (compiled 1103), and the *Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei*[64] (compiled 1311). The other texts that are regarded by modern scholars as "Ch'an" codes are identified as such on the basis of similarities in contents to the two codes just mentioned, and/or the fact that they include introductions or colophons paying tribute to Pai-chang as the founder of the first Ch'an monastery.[65]

Secondly, despite the fact that they are all called *ch'ing-kuei* or "pure rules," the so-called Ch'an monastic codes do not comprise a homogeneous genre of texts. Some were written to regulate one community only, while others were clearly meant to provide general guidelines for all monasteries. The former may have been written as a kind of supplement to the latter, and often focus in more detail on certain ritual procedures. Some codes were clearly intended to serve as schedules of activities, while others dealt with more general principles of monastic training, or spiritual attitudes which should be fostered by particular monastic officers.

The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* establishes detailed guidelines for a great many aspects of monastic life and training, including such things as the duties of more than fifty major and minor monastic officers, procedures for a wide variety of ceremonies, and rules concerning monkish deportment and etiquette.[66] The text had a wide circulation, and was evidently intended to provide a set of common standards for all Ch'an monasteries. The same may be said of the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*[67] (*Imperial Edition of Pai-chang's Regulations*), an influential Yüan period code (compiled from 1336-1343) which covers a similar range of topics. Other codes, such as the *Ju-chung jih-yung ch'ing-kuei*[68] (*Regulations for Daily Use by Monks in the Assembly*), written in 1209, and the *Huan-chu-an ch'ing-kuei*[69] (*Regulations for the Huan-chu Hermitage*), com-

posed in 1317, were clearly intended to regulate one community only. The former consists of a brief set of rules relating to the routine activities in a monk's day: rising, face washing, taking meals, chanting sutras, bathing, and so on. The latter is basically a schedule book of daily, monthly and annual functions, and includes many liturgical texts (mostly verses for the dedication of merit) to be chanted in connection with the various ceremonies listed. It should be apparent from these examples that the group of texts called "monastic codes" do not comprise a uniform genre and cannot be compared on a chronological scale alone to determine clearcut trends in the evolution of Ch'an monastic practice from the twelfth century on. Precisely because these texts were written for different purposes, however, they offer insights into various facets of Ch'an monasticism which can be collated to produce a remarkably detailed picture of the whole in the Northern Sung dynasty and following.

Thirdly, it is a mistake to assume that any of the extant Ch'an monastic codes, even those that cover a great many aspects of monastery organization and procedure, were ever intended to stand alone as complete and self-sufficient rules for Ch'an monasteries. As we have seen, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, which is the oldest of the *ch'ing-kuei* group of texts, took it for granted that monks in Ch'an monasteries should be familiar with both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinaya rules. The Sung and Yüan Ch'an monastic codes, I would suggest, functioned largely as a supplement to, not a direct replacement of, earlier Vinaya materials.

The Organization and Operation of Sung Ch'an Monasteries

We have seen that Dōgen, in his remarks to Ju-ching, emphasized the differences in the layout and operation of Ch'an and non-Ch'an monasteries. On the whole, however, the evidence of the *Gozan jissatsu zu* and of the monastic codes that have come down to us points to a high degree of uniformity in the internal organization of all public monasteries in the Sung and

Yüan, regardless of what lineage prevailed within them. All of the Sung and Yüan codes describe (or rather, prescribe rules for) fundamentally the same institutional structure. Although there are differences between codes arising from the various purposes for which they were written, they all mention basically the same monastic officers, buildings, and activities.

Only a couple of these codes, as was noted above, are actually called codes for "Ch'an monasteries," but most of the others are equally worthy of being considered "Ch'an" texts. Two important exceptions are the *Lü-yüan shih-kuei*[70] (*Procedural Regulations for Vinaya Monasteries*), compiled in 1325, and the *Chiao-yüan ch'ing-kuei*[71] (*Regulations for Teachings Monasteries*), a T'ien-t'ai school code published in 1347. These differ from the Ch'an codes in a few details, such as replacing memorial services for Pai-chang with services for Tao-hsüan, the first ancestor of the Nan-shan Vinaya school, and Chih-i, the patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai school. On the whole, however, their contents, and the institutional structures they reflect, are scarcely distinguishable from those of the Ch'an codes. It is clear that imperially designated Ch'an monasteries, Vinaya monasteries, and Teachings monasteries in the Southern Sung all had essentially the same physical layouts, including buildings such as the abbot's quarters (*fang-chang*), Dharma halls (*fa-t'ang*) and Sangha halls (*seng-t'ang*) that are often cited by scholars today as distinctively Ch'an facilities. They also had the same internal bureaucratic structure which, as was noted above, was fixed by government regulations. Their ceremonial schedules, too, were scarcely distinguishable from one another. None of these important aspects of monastery organization, in short, were affected very much by differences in the Dharma lineage of the abbot.

Ground plans of three of the "five mountains" (*wu-shan*; *gozan*) of Sung China, T'ien-t'ung-shan, Pei-shan, and the Wu-nien-ssu on T'ien-t'ai-shan, are preserved in the *Gozan jissatsu zu*.[72] These plans reveal monastery layouts which were actually quite eclectic, with facilities to accomodate a wide

range of Buddhist practices. In addition to Sangha halls (*seng-t'ang*), common quarters (*chung-liao*) and Dharma halls (*fa-t'ang*) there were buildings for offering services dedicated to the Buddhas (*fo-t'ien*), ancestors (*tsu-shih-t'ang*), arhats (*lo-han-t'ang*), Kuan-yin (*kuan-yin-t'ang*), and various local deities (*t'u-ti-t'ang*), as well as halls for "illuminating the mind" through sutra study (*chao-hsin-liao*), sutra libraries with revolving stacks (*lun-ts'ang*), sutra reading halls (*k'an-ching-t'ang*) where prayer services for patrons were performed, nirvana halls (*nieh-p'an-t'ang*) where sick and dying monks were tended and prayed for with recitations of the Buddhas' names (*nien-f'o*), and "water and land halls" (*shui-lu-t'ang*). The last were used for the esoteric rites of feeding all the spirits (or saving all living beings) who dwell on "water and land" (i.e. everywhere), called the water and land ceremony (*shui-lu-hui*) or ceremony of feeding the famished spirits (*shih-ngo-kuei-hui*).

Conclusion

We have seen in the course of the foregoing discussion that Ch'an monasteries, Ch'an monastic codes, Ch'an masters, Ch'an monks, and Ch'an ordinations were all, in the minds of Sung Chinese Buddhists and government officials charged with regulating the Buddhist order, very real and distinctive entities. At the same time, an examination of those entities has revealed that there was often very little of substance in the makeup of nominally "Ch'an" institutions in the Sung to distinguish them from any other Buddhist institutions. More than anything else, it was the intense consciousness of belonging to a distinct lineage of Dharma transmission that served to define and set apart the different "schools" of Buddhism in the Sung. Even monks such as Ju-ching and Dōgen who abhorred the notion that the one true Buddha Dharma could be subject to divisions were firm in their beliefs in their own versions of the sacred Dharma lineage. Obviously enough, such attitudes tended to foster the very consciousness of divisions in the Sangha that these

monks deplored. When the consciousness of lineage found concrete expression in such conventions as inheritance certificates and imperially bestowed name plaques, of course, it had an impact on the makeup of Buddhist monasteries: "Ch'an" monks naturally convened under "Ch'an" teachers in "Ch'an" monasteries. Nevertheless, the Ch'an lineage in the Sung existed primarily as a conceptual entity, not a distinctive institutional establishment.[73]

Notes to Chapter III

1 Following a usage established by Reischauer (*Ennin's Diary*), I translate *yüan* herein as "cloister," reserving the term "monastery" for the Chinese *ssu*. As is discussed in Chapter Eight below, facilities known as *ch'an-yüan* may have existed as separate cloisters (*pieh-yüan*) within larger monastery (*ssu*) compounds in the T'ang. By the Sung the distinction between *yüan* and *ssu* had become blurred (if indeed it was ever clear), but it is important to take note of the exact terms used if we are to unravel the difficult question of what *ch'an-yüan* and *ch'an-ssu* actually meant at different points in history. There is at least one recorded example of a cloister (*yüan*) being declared (promoted to?) a monastery (*ssu*) by imperial mandate during the Southern Sung (Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō daijiten*, s.v. *kyōin* [1:561c]).

2 For an account of the state classification of Buddhist monasteries that evolved later in the Ming dynasty, see Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis*, pp. 144–152.

3 I have based my translation on the critical edition of the *Hōkyōki* presented in Takashi James Kodera, *Dogen's Fomative Years in China*, pp. 244–248. My translation follows Kodera's in a few places (for Kodera's translation, see pp. 130–133).

4 In his *Fushukuhanpō* (*Procedures for Meals*), for example, Dōgen explained that although the use of spoons and chopsticks was not established by the Buddha and his disciples in India, and in fact was a Chinese custom, it was permissible because no one in China still knew the proper Indian Buddhist etiquette for eating with the hand (DZZS, vol. 2, pp. 353–354). Compare the Chinese pilgrim monk and Vinaya expert I-ching's (635–713) discussion of the use of spoons and chopsticks in India and China in his *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa chuan* (T 54 [no. 2125], p. 218a); Dōgen evidently based his remarks on this or some similar Chinese Vinaya commentary.

5 *Gozan jissatsu zu*, chart no. 71 (*Zengaku daijiten*, vol. 3, p. 31).

6 For example, the entry in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* for the third year of the Yüan-feng era (1080) reports that the Tung-lin Vinaya Cloister (*lü-yüan*) in Chiang-chou was changed by imperial mandate into a "Ch'an seat" (*ch'an-hsi*), and that the Ch'an master Ch'ang-tsung was ordered to dwell there [as abbot]

(T 49 [no. 2035], p. 415b); the *Shih-men wen-tzu ch'an* reports that in the first year of the Yüan-yu era (1086) the Tung-ming Vinaya Monastery (*lü-ssu*) in T'an-chou was declared a Ch'an cloister (cited in Mochizuki, 3:2945d, s.v. *zen'in*); an entry for the second year of the Yüan-yu era (1087) in the *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* reports that the Ling-feng Monastery on Mt. Ta-hung was renamed a Ch'an cloister by imperial mandate (T 49 [no. 2036], p. 672a). Most of the examples of the renaming of a monastery recorded in Sung sources involve becoming a Ch'an facility, but there are a few cases in which Ch'an monasteries were renamed as T'ien-t'ai or Vinaya facilities; for example, an entry for the fifth year of the Yüan-yu era (1090) in the *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* reports that the Shang-t'ien-chu Ch'an Monastery (*ch'an-ssu*) was designated a Teachings Monastery (*chiao-ssu*) (Mochizuki, s.v. *kyōin* [1:561c]).

7 Mochizuki, 3:2945b, (s.v. *zen'in*).

8 The latter term (*tu-ti-yüan*; *tsuchien*) was commonly used in the medieval Japanese Zen institution; see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, pp. 93, 116, 150, 230-231.

9 All of the information on T'ien-t'ung-shan given in this paragraph is based on sources cited in Mochizuki, s.v. *tendōji* (4:3812c).

10 Ibid, s.v. *aikuōji* (1:6a-b).

11 *Zengaku daijiten*, 3:10-32.

12 Ibid, 3:31-32; see 3:18 for a drawing of a monastery name plaque (*e*).

13 See p. 63 above.

14 Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, pp. xvi-xvii, 109; Imaeda, *Chūsei zenshūshi no kenkyū*, pp. 141-146; Mochizuki, s.v. *gozan jūsatsu* (2:1182c-1183a).

15 See p. 63 above.

16 This account is extrapolated from Japanese sources, and assumes (safely, I believe) that the Japanese Zen system of promotions was based closely on a Chinese model; see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, p. 243; Imaeda, *Chūsei zenshūshi*, p. 142.

17 DZZS, vol. 1, pp. 337-347. My account of inheritance certificates is based largely on this source; see also Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years in China*, pp. 42-46.

18 A photograph of Dōgen's inheritance certificate, now kept at Eiheiji, appears in DZZS, vol. 1, frontispiece; an illustration of the same document appears in Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years in China*, p. 70.

19 *Shisho* (DZZS, vol. 1, p. 341); for an English translation see Kōsen Nishiyama and John Stevens, trans., *Shōbōgenzō*, Vol. 2, p. 181.

20 Ibid.

21 Eisai, *Kōzen gokoku ron*, p. 104.

22 James Legge, ed. and trans., *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 14 in Chinese edition; p. 46 in English translation.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid, Chinese, p. 13; English, p. 44.

25 T 50 (no. 2095).

26 Ibid, p. 400b.

27 See, for example, T 50 (no. 2059), pp. 398c-8, 401b-22, 402b-10.

28 T 54 (no. 2125).

29 Ibid, p. 231c.

30 Ibid, p. 231c-232c.

31 Ibid, 232c.

32 This point is discussed further in Chapter Seven below, under the heading "The 'Anti-Institutional' Stance of Bodhidharma's School."

33 For Sung Ch'annists the term "dhyāna practitioner" (*hsi-ch'an*) thus took on a negative connotation. See, for example, the passage from the *Shih-men lien-chien lu* (translated on p. 55 above) in which the claim is made that Bodhidharma was not a *hsi-ch'an*; cp. the closing lines of Dōgen's *Zazengi*, in which he states that "*zazen* (*tso-ch'an*) does not consist of the practice of dhyāna (*shūzen*; *hsi-ch'an*); it is the Dharma gate of great ease, the undefiled practice and verification [of enlightenment" (DZZS, vol 1, p. 89); see also Carl Bielefeldt, *The "Fukan Zazengi" and the Meditation Teachings of the Japanese Zen Master Dogen*, pp. 216-217, 237, for a useful comparison of this passage with four related texts.

34 See p. 52 above.

35 These certificates are listed in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* as one of the personal articles that all monks should be equipped with (CYCK, p. 21). For general information on the state control of Buddhist ordinations in China, see Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 241-248.

36 In the year 1010 there were some 72 ordination platforms that were officially approved by the Sung court (Mochizuki, s.v. *taihei kōkokuji* [4:3392b]).

37 See my translation of a passage from the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* on p. 81 below for an outline of the rules of the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa* as these were used in China; for the ten novice precepts, see note 50 below.

38 CYCK, pp. 28, 293.

39 Legge, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, pp. 18, 28, 54, 98, etc.

40 These Vinaya texts are listed and described in greater detail in Chapter Six below.

41 Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 117–118, 125, 141–146.

42 Paul Groner, *Saicho and the Bodhisattva Precepts*, pp. 349–400. As is discussd in Chapter Eight below, several branches of the Ch'an school in the late eighth and early ninth centuries seem to have attempted radical reforms of traditional Buddhist ordination procedures.

43 Groner, pp. 117–192.

44 CYCK, p. 13.

45 T 23 (no. 1428).

46 For an explanation of these 250 rules, see Charles S. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline*.

47 T 24 (no. 1484), pp. 1003 ff.; for an annotated edition and Japanese translation, see Ishida Mizumaro, ed. and trans., *Bonmōkyō*; for a French translation see J.J.M De Groot, ed. and trans., *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*.

48 The ten cardinal precepts as given in the *Fan-wan ching* (T 24 [no. 1484], pp. 1004b–1005a) are, in brief:

1) Not to kill, lead others to kill, assist in killing, praise killing, [etc.]....
2) Not to steal, lead others to steal, assist in stealing....
3) Not to indulge in immoral sexuality, lead others to....
4) Not to speak falsely, lead others to....
5) Not to sell alcoholic drinks, lead others to....
6) Not to discuss the sins and transgressions of monkish or lay bodhisattvas, bhikṣus or bhikṣunīs, lead....
7) Not to praise oneself or vilify others, lead....
8) Not to be avaricious, lead....
9) Not to be irascible, lead....
10) Not to revile the Three Treasures [Buddha, Dharma, Sangha], lead others to revile....

49 CYCK, p. 16.

50 The ten novice precepts are given in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (CYCK, p. 312) as:

1) Not to kill living beings.
2) Not to steal.
3) Not indulge in sexual gratification.
4) Not to speak falsely.
5) Not to drink alcohol.
6) Not to adorn the body with flowers, headdresses, jewelry or perfumes.
7) Not to sing or dance, or intentionally go to see or hear them.
8) Not to sit or recline on a high, large couch.
9) Not to eat at improper times.
10) Not to handle gold, silver, cash, or treasures.

51 CYCK, p. 302.

52 T 40 (no. 1804), pp. 150a ff.; see Tsuchihashi Shūkō, "Jukai reigi no hensen," pp. 263-264.

53 CYCK, p. 340.

54 Ibid, p. 337.

55 The five precepts for laymen were equivalent to the first five rules of the ten novice precepts for monks (see note 36 above), with the exception that the rule concerning sexuality was interpreted to allow sex within marriage and other socially approved contexts (e.g. with legal concubines).

56 DZZS, vol. 1, pp. 619-622.

57 DZZS, vol. 2, pp. 263-70.

58 Ibid, p. 291.

59 See, for example, Kodera, p. 64.

60 Mochizuki, s.v. *zenkai* (3:2948b).

61 Sangharakshita, *The Three Jewels*, p. 200.

62 Groner, pp. 340, 356-358.

63 Ibid, p. 360-366. For editions of the *Fan-wang ching* see note 33 above.

64 ZZ 2-17-1.

65 Lists and/or brief descriptions of some of the more important Chinese monastic codes may be found in *Zengaku daijiten*, s.v. *shingi* (1:606c); Imaeda, *Chūsei zenshū shi no kenkyū*, pp. 56-72; Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, pp. 133-149; idem, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing-kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," pp. 167-171; Kagamishima, *Dōgen Zenji to sono monryū*, pp. 47-51, 176-194; idem, "Kaisetsu," in *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, pp. 1-25; Andō, "Josetsu," in *Eihei dai shingi*, pp. 1-22; Matsuura Hidemitsu, *Zenshū kojitsu sonshō no kenkyū*, pp. 1-112; Kosaka Kiyū, "Shingi hensen no teiryū," in *Shūgaku kenkyū*, 5 (April 1963), pp. 123-130.

66 For an outline of the contents of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, see Kagamishima et al, eds., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, pp. 8-25; also Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, pp. 141-142.

67 T 48 (no. 2025).

68 ZZ 2-16-5.

69 ZZ 2-16-5.

70 ZZ 2-11-1.

71 ZZ 2-6-4.

72 See *Zengaku daijiten* 3:12-13 for all three plans; Collcutt pp. 176-177 for plan of T'ien-tung-shan and accompanying discussion.

73 In defense of the theory of "pure" Sung Ch'an monasteries, Collcutt writes: "Students of Chinese history and Chinese Buddhism may object that Chinese Buddhist monasteries rarely showed the clear-cut sectarian form implied here [in *Five Mountains*, p. 32], that it is inaccurate to talk of 'pure' Ch'an monasteries, and that we should rather think in terms of Buddhist monasteries in which there was a strong Ch'an component: a Ch'an master, meditation hall, etc. While this may describe the character of some Chinese monasteries of the day, we should bear in mind that the Five Mountains group [of Chinese monasteries, which served as models for Japanese Zen institutions (p. 177)] all had 'Ch'an monastery' as part of their official title, that most Japanese monks who went to China in this period studied under Ch'an masters, that all émigré monks who came to Japan in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century described themselves as Ch'an masters, and that the codes they introduced were written for Ch'an communities" (*Five Mountains*, p. 308, note 13).

However, that the most important Buddhist centers in Sung China were called Ch'an monasteries, and that Ch'an masters were ubiquitous among influential Chinese monks of the time, simply attests to the ascendency that the Ch'an school had gained throughout Sung Buddhist monastic institutions as a whole. These facts do not constitute evidence that the layout of nominally Ch'an monasteries was in any way unique, or that it was developed solely within an institutionally independent Ch'an sect. A similar point may be made concerning the Ch'an monastic codes, none of which predate the Sung: they were, of course, written for "Ch'an" communities, since most of the important monastic centers had come to be considered such, but they incorporate a great many rules and procedures from the mainstream of Buddhist monasticism in addition to promoting those practices most closely associated with the Ch'an school. Whether considering Sung monastic institutions or the codes which regulated them, we must carefully study the actual contents, and not be too impressed by the sign over the monastery gate or the name on the cover of the rule book.

Collcutt considers Kenchōji in Kamakura, completed in 1253, to be one of the first examples of a full scale Japanese Zen monastery built in the "pure" Sung style of layout and architecture, noting that it had no Tendai or Shingon buildings within its compound (*Five Mountains*, pp. 65-69, 177-178). He points out that Kenchōji was probably the first monastery in Japan to have the words "Zen monastery" as part of its official name, which was bestowed by the emperor, and concludes that this constituted an "implicit formal recognition of Zen as an independent branch of the Buddhist church" (Ibid., p. 68).

I concur with the latter conclusion, but suggest that the Kenchōji layout may have been rid of buildings with strong Tendai and Shingon associations as part of an effort to define a distinctive monastery layout unique to the Zen school -- something which did not exist in China. As Collcutt points out, the *Kenchōji sashizu*, a ground plan of Kenchōji which may be considered to represent the layout of the stereotypical medieval

Japanese metropolitan Zen monastery, shows some signs of conforming to a symbolic ideal, rather than the demands of practical function (Ibid., pp. 186-188). It is arranged more neatly and symmetrically than the Sung monasteries on which it was modeled, and features a toilet (*seijin*) and bathhouse (*yokushitsu*) placed exactly opposite one anther on either side of the compound, near the main gate (*sanmon*), rather than near the monk's hall or the common quarters (*shuryō*), where most of the monks who used these facilities would have been stationed. This was in keeping with an idealized plan called the "seven hall monastery" (*shichidō garan*), promoted in Japan as characteristic of a Zen monastery, but unknown in Sung China. Although the precise layout of the original Kenninji and Tōfukuji are unknown, they may well have been organized along the same all-inclusive, tolerant lines of the great Sung centers, as Buddhist (not exclusively Zen) monasteries.

In describing the schedule of observances to be followed in Japanese Zen monasteries under his guidance (including, presumably, Kenninji), Eisai stated that the Shingon hall (*shingon-in*) was to be used for "land and water offerings" (*suiriku gu*) (*Kōzen gokoku ron*, p. 84); as is noted above, a "water and land hall" for this purpose was a standard feature of major Sung Ch'an monasteries, so the presence of one at Kenninji need not be attributed to the influence of the Japanese esoteric schools. The (Tendai style) meditation hall (*shikan-in*), according to Eisai, was to be used for such practices as the Lotus samādhi (*hokke-zanmai*), Amitābha samādhi (*Mida-zanmai*) and Kuan-yin samādhi (*Kannon-zanmai*) (ibid.); it is more than likely that Eisai encountered these practices at the Wu-nien-ssu on T'ien-t'ai-shan (one of the "five mountains" of Sung Ch'an) when he was there, so in this case as well there is no certainty that the *shikan-in* at Kenninji was a concession to Japanese Tendai influences.

CHAPTER IV

THE BACKGROUND OF THE SUNG CONCEPTION OF THE "CH'AN LINEAGE"

The conception of the Ch'an lineage that was worked out in the Sung lamp histories, and had such a great impact on the religious consciousness of Buddhists in Sung China, was not made up out of whole cloth by the Sung Ch'an historiographers. It was, rather, the product of a synthesis which drew on a number of earlier textual sources and combined aspects of more than one earlier ideological stance. In this chapter I shall attempt to trace the origins and development of the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage by examining precedents that appear in pre-Sung sources, and by suggesting how the Sung synthesis of earlier beliefs may have served to meet the religious and political needs of the Buddhist order and of the Sung dynasty itself in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Most of the pre-Sung sources I shall examine in this connection fall into one of three categories: (1) texts which may be regarded as forerunners of the Sung lamp history genre; (2) texts in which the practice of dhyāna (*ch'an*) was reinterpreted from a perspective that the Chinese took to be "Mahāyānist"; and (3) works of Tsung-mi that deal with the history of the Ch'an lineage.

The T'ang "Lamp Histories"

Much of the impact that the Tun-huang materials have had on the study of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" since the 1920's stems from the discovery of texts that clearly prefigure certain aspects of the Sung lamp histories, both in style and content. Most notable among these are: the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*[1]

(Record of the Transmission of the Dharma Treasure), composed about 713; the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*[2] *(Record of Masters and Disciples of the Lankāvatāra)*, written sometime between 713 and 716; some records of Ho-tse Shen-hui's (670-762) teachings, such as the *P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun*[3] *(A Treatise Determining the Truth About the Southern Lineage of Bodhidharma)*; and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*[4] *(Record of Successive Generations of the Dharma Treasure)*, probably composed shortly after 774. All of these works first caught the attention of scholars exploring the Tun-huang materials by virtue of the fact that they presented some version of an ancestral lineage of Dharma transmission from India to China that included Bodhidharma (or [Bodhi]dharmatrāta in the case of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*) Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. Moreover, the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, and *Li-tai fa-pao chi* displayed the same basic principle of internal organization that scholars knew well from the Sung lamp histories, that is, the linking together of individual hagiographies to form a genealogy. These points of similarity with the Sung lamp histories, it may be said, were what lead scholars to regard the Tun-huang texts just mentioned as "Ch'an" histories; the texts themselves, we shall see, make no mention of a "Ch'an lineage."

Of course, what has most stimulated scholarly research on the T'ang "Ch'an lamp histories," as they are now called, has been the discrepancies in their respective accounts of Bodhidharma's lineage. The most significant differences are found in the contents of individual hagiographies, and in the makeup of the genealogies that the various texts present for the generations preceding Bodhidharma and immediately following Hung-jen. In particular, differing claims about who followed Hung-jen in the ancestral lineage have allowed scholars to identify the T'ang lamp histories as the products of one or another branch of the "Ch'an" school. Thus, because the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* names Fa-ju (638-689) as the successor to Hung-jen, and Shen-hsiu (who is known from Sung and other T'ang sources as a lead-

ing figure of the so-called Northern school) as the Dharma heir of Fa-ju, the text is regarded as belonging to a branch of the Northern school of "Ch'an." The *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, which identifies Shen-hsiu himself as the leading successor to Hung-jen, is regarded as a lamp history produced by another branch of the Northern school. The recorded sayings of Shen-hui, of course, are well known through the studies of Hu-shih and Jacques Gernet as diatribes aimed at discrediting the Northern school of Shen-hsiu and affirming another of Hung-jen's disciples, Hui-neng, as his legitimate successor. Finally, the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* championed the cause of yet another branch of what scholars now call the "Ch'an" lineage, namely the Pao-t'ang school of Wu-chu (714-774).[5] The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* followed Shen-hui in positing Hui-neng as the sixth ancestor and tried to establish some connection between Wu-chu and Hui-neng, but it also forged links from Wu-chu directly back to Hung-jen through the latter's disciples Chih-hsien (609-702) and Hui-an (582-709).

The comparative study of the T'ang lamp histories has not been entirely limited to the issue of early "Ch'an" genealogies and the complex history of textual borrowings, claims, and counter claims that marked their formulation. Having identified various schools (*tsung*, *shū*) of early "Ch'an" on the basis of their competing claims to represent Hung-jen's lineage (*tsung*), scholars have also examined the respective doctrinal positions of those schools and tried to identify characteristic teachings that might serve to further distinguish them. To a certain extent, it is possible to interpret the various claims of succession to the lineage of Hung-jen that were made in the eighth century as attempts to lend authority to a particular doctrinal stance or approach to Buddhist practice. On the whole, however, the picture that has emerged from the study of the T'ang lamp histories is one of intense competition among factions who were at least as concerned with gaining imperial recognition and patronage for themselves as with establishing the orthodoxy of a particular teaching. In other words, a case can be made that

competing groups of Buddhists in the eighth century vied for imperial favor by claiming direct descent from an established fountainhead of orthodoxy (the lineage that stretched from Hung-jen back to India) and by impugning the genealogical claims of their rivals, rather than simply arguing for the truth of their own doctrinal positions.

The fact that imperial patronage was at stake, and that claims of pedigree were powerful weapons in the struggle to gain that patronage, is nowhere clearer than in the case of Shen-hui and his battle against the Northern school descendants of Shen-hsiu. That battle was waged in the environs of the capitals, Chang-an and Lo-yang, where the followers of Shen-hsiu's disciples P'u-chi (675-739) and I-fu (658-736) flourished with imperial support. By the time Shen-hui came on the scene with his attacks in 730's, the Northern school had already established itself as a Dharma lineage that ran back through Hung-jen and Bodhidharma to India, and Shen-hsiu had been granted imperial titles. The followers of P'u-chi and I-fu were to succeed over the course of the next few decades in having most of the other key ancestors in their lineage -- Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, Tao-hsin, and Hung-jen -- honored by the court with posthumous titles.[6] Shen-hui's gambit, basically, was to usurp the Northern school's prestige by stealing the genealogy that it had created for itself, a genealogy that had been ratified by imperial recognition.

This is not to say that Shen-hui's attacks on the Northern school were motivated solely by self-serving political considerations. Clearly he had strong ideological convictions concerning the doctrine of sudden enlightenment, and equally strong beliefs about the proper way to approach the practice of meditation (dhyāna). But if these issues of Buddhist doctrine and practice had been his only concerns, he probably could have stressed them without raising the question of Dharma lineage and making such a sharp break with the Northern school. Recent studies have shown that Northern school was not so far removed doctrinally from the position taken by Shen-hui as the carica-

ture of it in the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*[7] (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Ancestor*) and sermons of Shen-hui himself might lead one to believe.[8]

The importance of imperial recognition to the compilers of the T'ang lamp histories is also apparent in claims that were made, albeit falsely, to the effect that key ancestors in a lineage had received some sort of imperial approval in the past. The author of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, for example, attempted to lend legitimacy and prestige to Chih-hsien and his line by fabricating a story in which the Empress Wu received Bodhidharma's robe from Hui-neng and bestowed it upon Chih-hsien.[9] The notion that such a robe symbolized succession to Hung-jen had been perpetrated by Shen-hui and other supporters of Hui-neng, of course, but the significant point here is that assignation of the robe to its legitimate holder was assumed in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* to be the prerogative of the imperial court. The court, in other words, was regarded as the ultimate arbiter of Dharma lineage claims. The same assumption was shared by the author of a biography of Hui-neng entitled the *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan*[10] (*A Record of the Great Master of Ts'ao-ch'i*), probably written about 781. This biography countered the claims of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* by denying that Bodhidharma's robe had ever been taken from Hui-neng, and asserting instead that it had actually been brought to the court by the emperor Su-tsung in 762 and then returned to the Ts'ao-ch'i Monastery in 763 with the emperor's blessings. Yet another example of the court being held up as the ultimate authority in deciding the true heirs to Bodhidharma's lineage can be found in Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u* (*Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Ch'an Gate*). In this text Tsung-mi claims that the emperor Te-tsung called an assembly of *ch'an* masters (*ch'an-shih*) in 796 in order to "determine the essential principles (*tsung-chih*) of the *ch'an* approach (*ch'an-men*) and decide the orthodoxy of [the various lines of] Dharma transmission," and that as a result Shen-hui had been named the seventh ancestor by imperial decree.[11]

Whereas the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi*, the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, and the sermons of Shen-hui reflect the aspirations of the so-called Northern and Southern schools of "Ch'an" which thrived in the vicinity of the capitals, the school of Wu-chu, which produced the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, had its start as a provincial phenomena. It was centered in Szechuan, where Wu-chu resided in the Pao-t'ang monastery and enjoyed the patronage of local officials.[12] We may surmise that the boldness with which the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* claimed possession of Bodhidharma's robe for Chih-hsien and his heirs, thereby sidestepping the well-known assertions of both the Northern and Southern schools, was in part a function of the fact that it was written for a local, partisan audience unlikely to be critical of even the most preposterous claims made on its behalf.[13] The *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan*, similarly, glorified the status of a provincial school centered at the Pao-lin Monastery on Mt. Ts'ao-ch'i in Kuang-tung, a region far to the south that was regarded by many T'ang Chinese as beyond the pale of civilization, the home of "barbarians" (*ko-lao*). This text stressed Hui-neng's connection with the Pao-lin Monastery both before and after his reputed inheritance of Bodhidharma's robe from Hung-jen.[14] One wonders if the extravagant claims it made for the imperial sanction of the Pao-lin Monastery as the repository of the robe of transmission, replete with a record of the exact wording of purported imperial edicts, could have been ventured in a region less remote from the capitals. The author of the *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan*, we have seen, was at pains to refute the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* on the matter of the robe of transmission. But he was evidently unconcerned about the possibility of having to defend his own account of Bodhidharma's lineage in the generations following Hung-jen against the influential followers of either P'u-chi or Shen-hui.

Although they were probably written for local audiences, both the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan* were fated (each in its own way) to become rather influential texts that were known even beyond the borders of Chi-

na. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi* and the doctrines of the so-called Pao-t'ang school of "Ch'an" that it represented played a significant role in the transmission of Chinese Buddhism to Tibet in the late eighth century.[15] Indeed, if it had not been for the Tibetan interest in this school of Chinese Buddhism, the text would probably not have been preserved in Tun-huang, and would have been lost to us today. The *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan* circulated widely enough in China at the end of eighth century to be picked up by Saichō in 804 and brought back with him to his native Japan, where it was preserved. Although the text itself did not survive in China, a good deal of the hagiographical material on Hung-jen it contained eventually found its way into the Sung lamp histories.

This brings us, finally, to the case of the *Pao-lin chuan*[16] (*The Pao-lin [Monastery] Record*), the most direct precursor to the Sung Ch'an lamp histories of all the T'ang works known today. Parts of this text, which was compiled in 801, were rediscovered in Japan and China the 1930's. The *Pao-lin chuan* was the product of yet another provincial school of Buddhism that wished to gain legitimacy by tracing its lineage back through Hui-neng, Hung-jen and Bodhidharma to India and the Buddha Śākyamuni. The school in question was that of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788), who gathered a great number of followers around him at the K'ai-yüan Monastery in the Hung-chou region of Kiangsi. Ma-tsu's Hung-chou school, as it came to be known, subsequently flourished in Kiangsi and neighboring Hunan, where it enjoyed the support of local officials (including some with close ties to the imperial court).[17] The school linked itself to Hui-neng through the figure of Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744), who was presented as Hui-neng's leading Dharma heir and the teacher of Ma-tsu. The two final folios (*chüan* 9 and 10) of the *Pao-lin chuan*, which dealt with Tao-hsin, Hung-jen and Hui-neng, and may have treated Nan-yüeh, Ma-tsu and some of his disciples as well, are missing from the text as we now have it. It is clear from the surviving folios (*chüan* 1-5 & 8), however, that the *Pao-lin chuan* presented an innovative account of the 28 Indian

ancestors leading up to Bodhidharma, and that this account was precisely the one adopted by the Sung Ch'an historiographers. In the Sung lamp histories, of course, the disciples of Ma-tsu and their Dharma heirs in succeeding generations occupy a place of central importance, matched only by figures in the lineages deriving from Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu and his disciple Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien.

Our discussion of the various T'ang texts that may be regarded as forerunners of the Sung lamp history genre has focused thus far on points of similarity in the structure and contents of the works in question. Let us turn now to a consideration of some important differences that set the T'ang and Sung lamp histories apart.

The first point to note in this connection is that the T'ang lamp histories each championed what was basically a single line of Dharma inheritance, to the exclusion of all rival genealogical claims. They adhered implicitly to a principle of spiritual primogeniture, according to which only the foremost disciple of an ancestral teacher could receive the mantle of succession. The Sung Ch'an historiographers, by contrast, viewed their own tradition as a vast extended family of competing but equally legitimate lines of Dharma transmisssion stemming from Bodhidharma. To the extent that the Sung Ch'an historiographers relied on T'ang sources, they were tied to the notion of spiritual primogeniture in their depiction of the early Ch'an lineage, and constrained to make a decision regarding the historical accuracy of various competing and incompatible genealogical claims. They resolved this problem, of course, by accepting the accounts found in the *Pao-lin chuan* and other works that made Hui-neng the sole legitimate heir to the fifth ancestor Hung-jen. As we have seen, however, the Sung historiographers were not unsympathetic to rival claims to genealogical orthodoxy that had been made in other early lamp histories. While accepting the historical legitimacy of Hui-neng's Southern lineage (and identifying themselves with it), they took a stance towards ancient rivals of that lineage that

was conciliatory rather than antagonistic. It seems that they were inclined to embrace ancient divergent lines such as the Niu-t'ou lineage and Northern lineage as also belonging to the greater Ch'an lineage, but could not do so in an unambiguous fashion without contradicting the earlier sources that they relied on as evidence.

One question that arises in this connection is: was there any precedent in pre-Sung sources for the rather ecumenical attitude that was evinced by the Sung Ch'an historiographers, or was their conception of the Ch'an lineage purely a product of the Sung? Another question is: if the Sung Ch'an lamp histories, like their T'ang forerunners, were produced in part to gain the imperial court's ratification of a particular lineage (and they clearly were), then why did they depict that lineage in such a broad and inclusive manner? In answer to the first of these questions, I shall try to show that the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage had a clear precedent in the writings of Tsung-mi and certain other commentators in the T'ang, who took a broader view of the Buddhist tradition than the authors of the "Ch'an" lamp histories. In answer to the second question, I shall argue that the ecumenical view of the Ch'an lineage fostered in the Sung lamp histories was precisely the view that was best suited to gain the patronage of the Sung emperors at a time when they were striving to reconsolidate the empire in the aftermath of a long period of political, cultural and religious fragmentation.

Before addressing these issues, however, let us consider another point of difference that serves to distinguish the T'ang and Sung lamp histories. We have already seen that the authors of the T'ang genealogies did not regard themselves as belonging to a broad "Ch'an" lineage in the sense of sharing Bodhidharma's spiritual estate with other rival, sibling lineages. To this it may be added that, in point of fact, most did not conceive of themselves as belonging to a "Ch'an" lineage (*ch'an-tsung*) at all. The schools that scholars today are accustomed to group together under the rubric of the early "Ch'an

lineage" generally referred to themselves, and were referred to by outsiders, by other names.

This point was raised rather forcefully by Sekiguchi Shindai, a scholar closely associated with the Tendai school of Japanese Buddhism, in a paper published in 1960 entitled *Zenshū no hassei (The Origins of the Ch'an Lineage)*.[18] It was subsequently elaborated upon by Sekiguchi in two major studies, *Zenshū shisō shi*[19] *(A History of the Doctrines of the Ch'an Lineage)* and *Daruma no kenkyū*[20] *(A Study of Bodhidharma)*. Sekiguchi's thesis was evidently intended to take some wind out of the sails of the many scholars associated with the Japanese Zen school who stressed the "history of the Ch'an lineage" without paying much heed to the contribution of the lineage of dhyāna master T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538-589), and it did not fail to provoke a reaction. The most thoroughgoing response to Sekiguchi's thesis came from Yanagida Seizan in a section of his masterpiece, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū (A Study of Texts Pertaining to the History of the Early Ch'an Lineage)*.[21] Because these two scholars have both contributed greatly to clarifying the question of when and by whom the term *ch'an-tsung* was first used in the sense of a lineage of Dharma inheritance stemming from Bodhidharma, I shall summarize and critique their findings in the following section.

The Use of the Term *ch'an-tsung* in T'ang Sources

The earliest occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* are found in Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan*. As Sekiguchi and Yanagida both point out, however, in this text it is used to refer in a general way to dhyāna specialists, that is, those who belonged to the class (*tsung*) of dhyāna (*ch'an*) practitioners, or those for whom dhyāna was fundamental (*tsung*).[22] The *ch'an-tsung* as Tao-hsüan conceived of it included many monks not associated with Bodhidharma in any way, such as Hui-ssu (515-577) and Chih-i (538-589), who were later regarded as patriarchs of the T'ien-t'ai school.[23]

The school of Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o was known retrospectively in the eighth century as the Lankā school (*Leng-chia tsung*), a rubric which tallies with Tao-hsüan's earlier identification in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* of Bodhidharma and his followers as transmitters of the teachings of the *Lankāvatāra Sutra*.[24] The school of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen was referred to in eighth century sources as the "East Mountain Dharma gate" (*tung-shan fa-men*) or "East Mountain lineage" (*tung-shan tsung*), appellations that were probably current in Hung-jen's own day.[25] The school of Shen-hsiu, branded as the heterodox "Northern lineage" (*pei-tsung*) by Shen-hui, seems actually to have referred to itself as the "Southern lineage" (*nan-tsung*).[26] Apparently, by the middle of the eighth century at least, "Southern" was a rubric implying legitimate descent from Bodhidharma, and thus was something to fight over. Shen-hui, it may be noted, also used the term "Dharma's lineage" (*Ta-mo tsung*), meaning the lineage of Bodhidharma, as a synonym for Southern lineage.[27] Several branches of the Northern school wished to present themselves as the rightful descendants of Hung-jen's East Mountain lineage, and of Bodhidharma's Lankāvatāra lineage as well. The lamp histories produced by two of them to establish those genealogical connections, the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and the *Leng-chia shih-tzu shih*, never mention a "Ch'an lineage."[28] Nor does the term occur in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*. Wu-chu's school was called the Pao-t'ang house (*shih*) by Tsung-mi, and probably referred to itself in a similar fashion.[29]

Sekiguchi holds that the term Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*), employed in the sense of a lineage of Dharma transmission running back through Bodhidharma, first came into use in the early ninth century, around the time when Tsung-mi (780-841) was active.[30] Tsung-mi, Sekiguchi points out, made clear reference to "six generations of the Ch'an lineage" (*liu-tai ch'an-tsung*), by which he meant the line of ancestral teachers extending from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng.[31] Sekiguchi also notes the occurrence of the term *ch'an-tsung* in the *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* (*Essentials*

of the Transmission of Mind), a record of the sermons of Huang-po Hsi-yün (-850?), an eminent master in the Hung-chou school who was a disciple of Pai-chang.[32] By Huang-po's time, he says, the term seems to have become fairly well fixed in the Hung-chou school as meaning a lineage deriving from Bodhidharma.

Yanagida cites the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh* (*Settling the Correct Principle of Suddenly Awakening to the Mahāyāna*), a text found in Tun-huang that purports to record the Ch'an master Mo-ho-yen's debate with Indian monks in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa (ca. 781 or 787), as containing the earliest occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* in which the reference is clearly to a lineage deriving from Bodhidharma.[33] This text, Yanagida says, suggests that the Northern school (with which Mo-ho-yen was supposedly associated) was already referring to itself as the "Ch'an lineage."[34] There are other indications, according to Yanagida, that consciousness of a "Ch'an lineage" deriving from Bodhidharma already existed in the eighth century. The *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, in its biography of National Teacher Chung (Nan-yang Hui-chung, a disciple of Hui-neng, died 775) reports that Chung frequently instructed the assembly of monks in how "students of the *ch'an-tsung*" should train.[35] The *Tsu-t'ang-chi*, a lamp history compiled in 952, reports that when Chung gave a sermon in the imperial court in 761, the monks who served in the emperor's chapel referred to his teaching as the *ch'an-tsung*.[36] The *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh*, written by the T'ien-t'ai school monk Ching-ch'i Chan-jan (711-782), mentions a division in the *ch'an-tsung*.[37] There are, Yanagida further points out, a number of instances in the recorded sayings (*yü-lu*) of the Hung-chou school masters Ma-tsu (709-788), Pai-chang (720-814), Huang-po (-850?), and Lin-chi (-866) where these masters refer to their own point of view as that of the *ch'an-tsung*.[38] Tsung-mi's writings and the Japanese pilgrim monk Ennin's record of meeting with monks training in the "*ch'an* gate school" (*ch'an-men-tsung*),[39] Yanagida concludes, are solid evidence

that the term *ch'an-tsung* was well established in the early ninth century as a name for Bodhidharma's lineage.

Having examined the philological evidence that Sekiguchi and Yanagida present in this connection, there are two notes of caution that I would like to sound. The first is that occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* in sources dating from the Sung, even when those sources purport to record the words of persons who lived in the T'ang, could very well be interpolations by Sung editors. The second is that the term *ch'an-tsung* does not necessarily (as Sekiguchi and Yanagida sometimes seem to assume) refer to a *ch'an* "lineage" (*tsung*) or group of practitioners. It can in some contexts mean the "fundamental principle" (*tsung*) of *ch'an* (in whatever sense *ch'an* is understood, and here too there are ambiguities). It can also mean a personal or inner "realization" (*tsung*) of *ch'an*: a realization either attained through the practice of dhyāna, or perhaps simply given the name "*ch'an*" (whether or not dhyāna practice is involved). As Jeffrey Broughton has pointed out, Tsung-mi in fact uses the term *ch'an-tsung* in the sense of Ch'an "realizations" as well as that of a Ch'an "lineage" deriving from Bodhidharma.[40] We should be alert, therefore, to the possiblity that *ch'an-tsung* had the same meaning in other T'ang sources as well. Bearing these two cautions in mind, let us reexamine the evidence cited by Sekiguchi and Yanagida.

With regard to the occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* in the recorded sayings literature of the Hung-chou masters and their disciples, it should be pointed out, first of all, that the texts in question all come down to us in editions dating from the Sung or even later.[41] Insofar as they represent the sacred literature of Sung followers of the "Ch'an lineage," one might expect to find numerous interpolations of the term even if it had not occurred in whatever sources the Sung compilers had to work from. Despite the likelihood of interpolation, however, the words *ch'an-tsung* rarely appear in the recorded sayings of the T'ang Ch'an masters. There is only one occurrence in the recorded sayings of Ma-tsu, where a monk is reported to

have challenged Ma-tsu with the question, "What Dharma does the Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*) transmit?"[42] Here *ch'an-tsung* clearly indicates Bodhidharma's lineage of Dharma transmission, but the evidence is vitiated by the fact that the oldest edition of Ma-tsu's recorded sayings cannot be dated any earlier than the twelfth century. The term *ch'an-tsung* also appears once in Huang-po's *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao*, but here it seems that the reference is not to a "lineage," but rather to an "essential principle" or "realization" of *ch'an* that Huang-po said had come down to him.[43] These two examples should suffice to illustrate the fact that, on the whole, there are very few clear references to a "Ch'an lineage" deriving from Bodhidharma in the recorded sayings of the Hung-chou masters, and the sources are late in any case.

Yanagida himself points out that the occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* in the biographies of National Teacher Chung in the *Tsu-t'ang-chi* (compiled 952) and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (1004) are less than convincing as evidence for early usage of the term, since the sources are both relatively late. Moreover, in both contexts where the term appears, it is best interpreted as meaning a "*ch'an* realization," not a "Ch'an lineage."[44]

Finally, let us consider the occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* in sources that can be confidently dated as T'ang works. The occurrence in the *Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh* that Yanagida cites is best interpreted as a reference to dhyāna specialists in general, not a lineage deriving from Bodhidharma.[45] In this context, in other words, *ch'an-tsung* has the same meaning as in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*. The two occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* in the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh* cited by Yanagida as evidence that the Northern school called itself as the "Ch'an lineage" make much more sense in those contexts if they are interpreted, on the contrary, as references to a "*ch'an* realization" or a "fundamental principle of *ch'an* practice."[46] In the final analysis, then, Yanagida's efforts to counter Sekiguchi's claims by finding references to a

"Ch'an lineage" in eighth century sources are unconvincing.

There is no denying the fact, however, that Tsung-mi made numerous references to a "Ch'an lineage" deriving from Bodhidharma. Yanagida's citations of Tsung-mi, Ennin's diary entry (dated 838) and other, later sources which mention the Ch'an lineage actually serve to strengthen Sekiguchi's assertion that the conception of a "Ch'an lineage" of Dharma inheritance deriving from Bodhidharma first arose in the early ninth century. To the evidence marshalled by Sekiguchi and Yanagida, I would add the occurrence of the term *ch'an-tsung* in the *Sheng-chou chi*[47] (*The Sheng-chou Record*), a lamp history associated with the Hung-chou school that is now lost except for a fragment found among the Tun-huang documents. The *Sheng-chou chi* refers to Mahākāśyapa as the "first ancestor of the Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung ti-i tsu*).[48] The compilation of the *Shen-chou chi* is thought to have taken place sometime between 898 and 901. It is thus the earliest source in which the term *ch'an-tsung* is clearly used to indicate Bodhidharma's lineage.

In conclusion, it may be said that it is only in sources dating from the Southern Sung that we really begin to find widespread and frequent mention of a *ch'an-tsung* where the meaning is that of a Ch'an lineage of Dharma transmission stemming from Bodhidharma. Nevertheless, the term was occasionally used in that sense by followers of the Hung-chou school in the early ninth century as a mode of referring to their own tradition. Tsung-mi certainly used the term *ch'an-tsung* to mean a Ch'an lineage, but for him the Ch'an lineage was not a unilinear entity: it was comprised of a number of competing lineages stemming from Bodhidharma. It is in Tsung-mi's writings, reviewed below, that we find the earliest true precedent for the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage.

On a related issue, Sekiguchi argues that when Tao-hsüan wrote of dhyāna specialists (*ch'an-tsung*), he was referring primarily to Hui-ssu and Chih-i and their followers.[49] Bodhidharma, Sekiguchi points out, was characterized by Tao-hsüan as someone who "regarded insight (*kuan*; *vipaśyanā*) as fundamental

(tsung),"[50] and who taught a type of "Mahāyāna *vipaśyanā (ta-cheng pi-kuan)*.[51] Moreover, Sekiguchi argues, writings attributable to Tao-hsin, Hung-jen and Shen-hsiu all suggest that they too stressed the cultivation of various types of *vipaśyanā (kuan)*, not dhyāna *(ch'an)*.[52] Sekiguchi's point, in brief, is that the figures regarded by the later tradition as the ancestral teachers of the Ch'an lineage did not fit the description of dhyāna specialists *(ch'an-tsung)* in their day, and that it was therefore natural that they were not referred to as such either by their followers or by outsiders.

By stressing the point that various schools of Chinese Buddhism now associated with the early Ch'an lineage only fell under that rubric in the writings of Tsung-mi, Sekiguchi has certainly helped to stimulate a more critical approach to the "history of the Ch'an lineage." His claim that the figures traditionally associated with Bodhidharma's lineage did not teach dhyāna, however, is fatuous. Tao-hsüan, after all, classified Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and Tao-hsin as dhyāna practitioners *(hsi-ch'an)*. Yanagida demonstrates that, while Tao-hsüan did not use the term *ch'an-tsung* to refer exclusively to a lineage associated with Bodhidharma, neither did he use it to refer exclusively to a T'ien-t'ai lineage.[53] As far as Tao-hsüan was concerned, the general class of dhyāna specialists *(ch'an-tsung)* encompassed the followers of teachers espousing a variety of doctrines and methods, including not only Mahāyānists such as Bodhidharma, but also Seng-ch'ou (480-560), who taught the "Hīnayāna" practice of meditation on the four foundations of mindfulness *(ssu-nien-ch'u kuan)*.[54]

Moreover, as Yanagida points out, although the term *ch'an-tsung* does not appear in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, the practice of seated dhyāna *(tso-ch'an)* is certainly stressed in those texts.[55] The *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, in a section that is regarded by scholars as the text of Tao-hsin's *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men (The Dharma Gate of Expedients for Entering the Way by Calming the Mind)*, contains detailed instructions for the practice of seated dhyāna *(tso-*

ch'an).[56] Yanagida tweaks Sekiguchi by pointing out that the latter himself recognized the passages in question as "the oldest in any source associated with the Ch'an lineage that resemble a manual of seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an-i*; *zazengi*)."[57] The question of whether or not seated dhyāna was actually practiced by various branches of the so-called Ch'an lineage in the T'ang is one that I shall address more systematically below. Suffice it to conclude the present discussion with the observation that there was a widespread movement in T'ang Chinese Buddhism to promote the actual practice of dhyāna and to interpret that practice philosophically in terms of Mahāyāna teachings: the theory and practice of dhyāna were never restricted to any one school or "lineage."

The Meaning of the Term *ch'an* in T'ang Sources

In our discussion of the term *ch'an-tsung* above the focus was primarily on variations that occur in the meaning of the word *tsung*. It is obvious, however, that the word *ch'an* was also used in more than one sense in T'ang sources, both in combination with *tsung* and when standing alone. Let us next review the evolution of the understanding of the term *ch'an* as it is traced by Yanagida in the early lamp histories and other sources he considers pertinent to the "history of the Ch'an lineage."

There is little doubt that when Tao-hsüan wrote of the class of "*ch'an* practitioners" (*hsi-ch'an*) and "*ch'an* specialists" (*ch'an-tsung*) in his *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, what he meant by *ch'an* was *ch'an-na* or *ch'an-ting*, that is, dhyāna. Dhyāna for Tao-hsüan, moreover, meant just about what it did in the mainstream Indian Buddhist tradition, that is, assuming a sitting posture in a suitable place and proceeding to calm the mind by fixing it on some object of meditation. In the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, the terms *ch'an* and *tso-ch'an* (seated dhyāna) are virtually synonomous. Yanagida notes that the evidence of the Northern school lamp histories also supports the conclusion that *ch'an* in Tao-hsin and Hung-jen's day (the mid-seventh cen-

tury) was still synonomous with dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*) and seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*).

However, in the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* (*Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*), a "sutra" believed to have been composed in China in the late seventh century in order to establish the credentials of the East Mountain school by relating its doctrines with Bodhidharma's thought and attributing them to the Buddha, there is evidence of a reinterpretation of *ch'an* in terms of the Mahāyāna doctrine of emptiness. In treating "Bodhisattva *ch'an*" (*p'u-sa ch'an*), the text explains that one grasps the non-origination of dharmas (*wu-sheng*), which is wisdom (*po-jo*; prajñā), upon realizing that the essential nature of *ch'an* is independent of both calm (sitting in dhyāna and entering samādhi) and agitation. Only by clinging neither to dhyāna nor its opposite can one practice the "*ch'an* of non-origination" (*wu-sheng ch'an*).[58] Later the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* explains entering into "tathāgata *ch'an*" (*ju-lai ch'an*) as cultivating insight (*kuan*) into the essential calmness of mind (which is the same whether the mind is agitated or calm).[59]

In the same vein, the so-called *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* ("*The Dharmapada Sutra Spoken by the Buddha*"), another Chinese "sutra" produced about the same time, contains a critique of the six perfections from the standpoint of the emptiness (or more precisely, "the fundamentally unmoving nature") of all dharmas. Of the fifth perfection, dhyāna, the text says,

> If one trains in the various samādhis (*san-mei*), this is agitation (*tung*) not seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*). If the mind flows in accordance with objects of meditation (*ching-chiai*), how can this be called samādhi (*ting*)?[60]

Here again we see the idea that true dhyāna, that which accords with insight into the non-origination of dharmas, cannot be something that is produced by cultivating any particular state of mind or by fixing the mind on any particular object.

The critique of dhyāna found in these texts was called "Mahāyānist" because it was grounded in the Mahāyāna doctrine of the emptiness of all dharmas. The critique represents a rejec-

tion *in philosophical principle* of the actual techniques employed in the traditional practice of dhyāna. True dhyāna, according to this principle, cannot require any exertion or any artificial obstruction of the mind: it must be something unconditioned, something that transcends all particular mental states, and ultimately something that is given (not produced). By pointing out the philosphical contradictions inherent in the techniques of dhyāna, however, the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* and the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* were not necessarily rejecting the concrete application of those techniques. Yanagida argues that in these texts *ch'an* still means dhyāna in the traditional Indian sense, and the actual practice of dhyāna is still affirmed. The critique of dhyāna from the standpoint of the philosophy of *prajñāpāramitā*, he implies, was aimed at instructing persons actually engaged in the practice of seated dhyāna, as a corrective to the sort of one-sided attachment to mental calm that practitioners might fall into.

The same attitude toward the practice of dhyāna, Yanagida notes, is reflected in later texts associated with the Ch'an tradition, such as the *Ch'an-men ching* (*The Ch'an Gate Sutra*) the *Wu-hsing lun* (*Treatise on the Enlightenment Nature*), the Tun-huang text of the *Liu-tsu t'an ching* (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Ancestor*), and the *Tun-wu yao-men* (*The Essentials of Sudden Enlightenment*). The *Wu-hsing lun*, for example, quotes a passage from the *Ch'an-men ching* which reads, "Not keeping any dharmas in mind is called dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*)," and then states that,

> If one understands these words, then moving, standing still, sitting, and reclining are all dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*). When one knows that the mind is emptiness (*kung*), this is called seeing Buddha (*chien-fo*). Why? Because all the Buddhas of the ten directions regard "no mind" (*wu-hsin*), not seeing in mind, as seeing Buddha. Throwing away mind [i.e. mindfulness] and not clinging stingily to it is called great [vehicle] giving (*ta pu-shih*). Remaining apart from both agitation (*tung*) and samādhi (*ting*) is called great [vehicle] seated dhyāna (*ta-tso-ch'an*). Why? Because ordinary people (*fan-fu*) incline only toward agitation, and the followers of the Little

> Vehicle incline only toward samādhi. When we speak of going beyond both the ordinary person ['s state of mind] and the seated dhyāna of the Little Vehicle, we call it the Great [Vehicle] seated dhyāna.[61]

This passage is of particular interest because, while clearly enunciating the non-dualistic "Mahāyāna" point of view (from which there is no difference between practicing or not practicing seated dhyāna), it implies that the "Hīnayāna" practice of actually sitting and calming the mind is a necessary element in a dialectic process that leads from the ordinary state of delusion to the level of Mahāyāna insight.

The *Tun-wu yao-men*, which draws quotations from both the *Fa-chü ching* and the *Ch'an-men ching* and seems to have also been strongly influenced by Shen-hui's thought and perhaps that of the Niu-t'ou school,[62] takes a similar view of dhyāna:

> Question: If one wants to cultivate that which is fundamental, by what practice should one cultivate it?
>
> Answer: Only by seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*), by dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*), is there attainment. The *Ch'an-men ching* says, "If you would seek the sacred wisdom of Buddha, then you must practice dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*). If there is no dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*), then one's mindfulness (*nien-hsiang*) [of Buddha] will be disrupted, spoiling the roots of merit."
>
> Question: What do you call dhyāna (*ch'an*), and what do you call samādhi (*ting*)?
>
> Answer: I regard the non-production of misguided mindfulness (*wang-nien pu-sheng*) as dhyāna (*ch'an*), and sitting and viewing the original nature (*tso chien pen-hsing*) as samādhi (*ting*). The original nature is your own unproduced mind (*wu-sheng hsin*). Samādhi (*ting*) is paying no mind (*wu-hsin*) to any object of meditation (*ching*).[63]

Here again we see the idea that true *ch'an* cannot, in principle, be a method of cultivation. Since all attempts to rouse or or focus the mind in order to attain some particular condition or object are fundamentally deluded, true *ch'an* is to be found precisely where such exertions cannot reach, that is, in "no mindfullness" (*wu-hsin*) and the "mind which is not produced" (*wu-sheng hsin*) -- the original nature of mind which is there all along in the ebb and flow of delusion. In the very same

passage, however, we also find an explicit (and rather conventional) statement to the effect that the actual practice of seated dhyāna must be cultivated if one is to make progress on the spiritual path and attain insight into that which is fundamental (the original nature).

The implication of this teaching is that it is vital to calm the mind in seated dhyāna in order to realize the inherently flawed and contradictory nature of that very exercise, a realization which is tantamount to "seeing the original nature" or attaining enlightenment. The idea that one should undertake a practice that is false from the point of view of ultimate truth in order to realize truth is, of course, an expression of a fundamental Mahāyāna concept -- that of "expedients" or "skillful means" (*fang-pien*, *upāya*). There is no doubt that the actual practice of seated dhyāna was understood as an expedient in this sense by many dhyāna masters (*ch'an-shih*) in the T'ang who took the "Mahāyāna" standpoint.

At one point in Tao-hsin's *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien famen*, for example, the actual techniques of sitting in dhyāna and regulating the mind are spelled out in detail and explicitly labeled as expedients (*fang-pien*).[64] Earlier in the text, for beginners in seated dhyāna Tao-hsin recommends the traditional ("Hīnayāna") practice of right mindfulness (*cheng-nien*) in which the body, the mind, and mind objects (*fa*, *dharmas*) are held in mind as objects of contemplation.[65] The reference here is clearly to meditation on the four foundations of mindfulness (*ssu-nien-ch'u kuan*), although that term does not actually appear in the text. The aim of the practice, however, is explained in Mahāyāna terms as the realization that all of the dharmas under investigation are originally empty, neither produced nor destroyed, and so on. This contemplation on the emptiness of dharmas is fostered first in seated dhyāna, but it is also to be sustained without interruption day and night, whether moving, standing still, sitting or reclining. Tao-hsin also recommends taking a Buddha as an object of mindfulness. By the practice of Buddha mindfulness (*nien-fo*) he means, in the

first place, sitting in a quiet spot facing in the direction of one's chosen Buddha, holding the body upright in the proper posture for dhyāna, fixing the mind (*hsi-hsin*) on that one Buddha, and reciting his name.[66] The final aim of this practice, however, is the realization that "one's mindfulness has no supporting object" (*wu suo-yüan-nien*). True Buddha mindfulness (*nien-fo*) is reached when the emptiness of the object of mindfulness is realized, and the mind which thinks of Buddha also disappears (the duality of subject and object having collapsed).[67] In this way, Tao-hsin portrays sitting in dhyāna and focusing the mind on an object of meditation as a practice that reveals its own flawed presuppositions and so leads to liberation.

It has sometimes been remarked that Tao-hsin was an early example of the combination of elements of "Ch'an" and "Pure Land" Buddhism. After all, this line of reasoning goes, he is a figure in the "Ch'an lineage" who not only recommended the practice of *nien-fo*, but alluded to Amitābha's pure Buddha land in the west, and even taught sitting in dhyāna facing the west as an expedient suitable for certain practitioners.[68] It is mistaken, however, to view Tao-hsin as a syncretist, as though he brought together elements of Buddhist practice that were originally separate. In Tao-hsin's day and before, as is evident not only from the *Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men* but from many other sources, the practice of mindfulness (*nien*) was so closely associated with *ch'an* (dhyāna) as to be virtually identified with it, and Buddhas (*fo*) were among the most common objects of concentration used in *ch'an* practice.[69] It is doubtful whether *nien-fo* in the early T'ang had yet devolved in any quarters into a purely devotional practice. Among practitioners of *ch'an*, certainly, it was still very much a means of focusing and calming the mind.

It is not surprising, therefore, that "Mahāyāna" critiques of dhyāna such as that proffered by Tao-hsin should have tried to redefine *nien-fo* (or give it a "higher" meaning) in terms derived from Mādhyamika and/or Yogācāra metaphysics. When the

passage from the *Wu-hsing lun* quoted above argued that "seeing Buddha" (*chien-fo*) actually means realizing the emptiness of mind, it was playing against the conventional understanding of "seeing Buddha" that was well known to *ch'an* practitioners, namely, holding a visual image of a Buddha in mind as an object of meditation. The passage from the *Ch'an-men ching* quoted above (as a citation in the *Tun-wu yao-men*) also alludes to the practice of visualization. The "Mahāyāna" critique of *ch'an*, it could be said, shifted the emphasis of meditation away from "seeing Buddha" (*chien-fo*) by constructing a mental image to "seeing the Buddha nature" (*chien-fo-hsing*), which is by definition the unproduced (*wu-tso*), unthinkable (*wu-nien*) original nature of all dharmas.

It is impossible to cite all the examples of the "Mahāyāna" critique of *ch'an* that are found in T'ang works, for this (together with the movement to promote Mahāyāna precepts) was indeed a major issue that inspired many Buddhist thinkers in the seventh through ninth centuries. However, it would be remiss to ignore what is perhaps the most famous definition of *ch'an* found in "Ch'an" literature -- that which appears in the *Liu-tsu t'an ching*:

> In this Dharma gate (*fa-men*), what do we call seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*)? In this Dharma gate "*tso*" means to be entirely without obstruction and not to rouse mindfullness (*nien*) on the basis of any external objects of meditation (*ching*); "*ch'an*" means to see the original nature (*chien pen-hsing*) and not be disturbed. And what do we call dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*)? To be detached from forms externally is called *ch'an*, and to be undisturbed internally is called *ting*.[70]

This passage is so clearly similar in its fundamental concept and mode of expression to the passages from the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching*, *Wu-hsing-lun* and *Tun-wu yao-men* discussed above that it is hardly necessary to dwell on its import. The *Liu-tsu t'an ching* makes explicit what is implicit in all of the critiques of dhyāna cited above, to wit, that true dhyāna is fundamentally no different than prajñā -- that these two are just different names for the same thing, namely, "seeing the original na-

ture."[71] In the same vein, the text explicitly rejects the notion that the practice of dhyāna is something which gives rise to prajñā: true dhyāna is not a method of cultivation, and prajñā is not something that can be cultivated -- it is something that all people possess from the start.[72] We should not conclude from these statements, however, that the teachings of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* precluded the actual practice of seated dhyāna. The text describes the way in which Hui-neng opened his sermon as follows:

> The Great Master [Hui-] Neng said, "Good friends, purify your minds (*ching-hsin*) and be mindful (*nien*) of the dharma of *mahā-prajñāpāramitā*. The Master then fell silent and purified his own spirit (*hsin-shen*). Then after a good while he spoke, "Good friends...."[73]

Thus we see Hui-neng himself depicted as calming his mind in dhyāna and practicing a sort of mindfulness in which the object of concentration is the perfection of wisdom itself. This is no incidental matter, for Hui-neng's silent dhyāna practice is, by implication, the profound source from which his words subsequently issue, and that which gives his sermon authority. In reporting Hui-neng's final admonition to his followers before his death, a sort of "last will and testament" of the ancestor (which in Chinese Buddhism has always been regarded as a teacher's most sacred utterance), the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* again urges the actual practice of seated dhyāna.[74]

In the preceding discussion of the evolution of the understanding of *ch'an* found in various sources cited by Yanagida, we have seen that while *ch'an* was equated with prajñā at the level of ultimate truth, the actual practice of *ch'an* in the conventional sense of seated dhyāna was still prescribed as an expedient. Yanagida, however, does not believe that the evolutionary process stopped there. Citing the works of Shen-hui, the *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan*, and the recorded sayings of Ma-tsu, he argues that in the so-called Southern school of Ch'an, the term *ch'an* actually ceased to signify seated dhyāna at all. The thesis presented by Yanagida, which was first proposed by Hu Shih in connection with his study of Shen-hui, is

stated as follows:

> The standpoint of giving *ch'an* the meaning of prajñā had, perhaps, already been taken by Bodhidharma, and it is clear that the legacy of the San-lun [Chinese Mādhyamika] tradition reinforced it. However, the sudden enlightenment point of view which did not make even provisional use of contemplating mind in seated dhyāna as an expedient device (*fang-pien*) may, after all, be regarded as the unique creation of the Southern school.[75]

The line of Buddhism that began with Bodhidharma, Yanagida continues, was at one time regarded as the school (*tsung*) of seated dhyāna, but

> when it came to the period from Shen-hui to Ma-tsu, on the contrary, prajñā or wisdom itself came to be regarded as *ch'an* and, in actuality, its characteristic of being the school of seated dhyāna was overcome. This ushered in the formative age of the so-called Southern school.[76]

Hu Shih's original statement of this thesis was:

> And he [Shen-hui] condemned the formula of *dhyāna* practice taught by P'u-chi and his fellow students of the great Shen-hsiu -- a fourfold formula of "concentrating the mind in order to enter *dhyāna*, settling the mind in that state by watching its forms of purity, arousing the mind to shine in insight, and finally controlling the mind for its inner verification." And he swept aside all forms of sitting in meditation (*tso-ch'an*; Japanese *zazen*) as entirely unnecessary. He said: "If it is right to sit in meditation, then why should Vimalakīrti scold Sāriputra for sitting in meditation in the woods?" "Here in my school, to have no thoughts [*wu-nien*] is meditation sitting, and to see one's original nature is *dhyāna* (*ch'an*).
>
> Thus Shen-hui proceeded from denunciation of the most highly honored school of the empire to a revolutionary pronouncement of a new Ch'an which renounces *ch'an* itself and is therefore no *ch'an* at all. This doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment he does not claim as his own theory or that of his teacher, the illiterate monk Hui-neng of Shaochou, but only as the true teaching of all the six generations of the school of Bodhidharma.[77]

Following Hu Shih, Yanagida argues that Shen-hui was the first to completely dissociate *ch'an* from its original meaning of seated dhyāna and define it exclusively as a synonym of the

perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). In support of this view, he cites a passage from Shen-hui's writings:

> "To leave behind both existing and non-existing, and to forget the middle path as well" -- this is to have no mindfulness (*wu-nien*). To have no mindfulness is unitary mindfulness (*i-nien*). Unitary mindfulness is [a Buddha's] omniscience (*i-ch'ieh-chih*). Omniscience is the most profound *prajñāpāramitā*. The most profound *prajñāpāramitā* is tathāgata *ch'an* (*ju-lai-ch'an*). Thus the sutra says, "Good sons, what is it to contemplate (*kuan*) the equanimity (*p'ing-tung*) [non-discrimination] of the tathāgata?" and the *Wei-mo ching* (*Vimalakīrti-sūtra*) says, "If one contemplates (*kuan*) one's own true form, it is just the same as contemplating Buddha." Indeed, when I [Shen-hui] contemplate the tathāgata (*ju-lai*, literally "thus come"), he does not come in the future, he does not depart into the past, and he has no dwelling in the present. It is precisely because there is no dwelling that [my contemplation (*kuan*)] is tathāgata *ch'an*; its primary significance is emptiness (*kung*). If a Bodhisattva, a Great Being, practices calm and insight (*ssu-wei kuan-ch'a*) in this manner, then above he ascends to the self-awakening of sacred wisdom and below he encourages [other beings to do likewise].[78]

Now, it is clear from the passages that Hu Shih and Yanagida cite that Shen-hui identified true *ch'an*, which he called tathāgata *ch'an*, with the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), and indeed with complete enlightenment or Buddhahood itself. As we have seen, however, such an interpretation was hardly innovative. Shen-hui's conception of tathāgata *ch'an* is really no different from that presented earlier in the *Chin-kang san-mei ching*. His assertion that tathāgata *ch'an* entails a kind of contemplation (*kuan-ch'a*) that does not depend on seated dhyāna and does not dwell on any objective support is also prefigured in such works as the *Chin-kang san-mei ching*, the *Fo-shou fa-chü ching*, and the *Wu-hsing lun*. Like Tao-hsin and the author of the *Wu-hsing lun* before him, Shen-hui argued that the real meaning of "seeing Buddha (*chien-fo*)" or "contemplating the tathāgata" (*kuan ju-lai*) was to realize the emptiness of all dharmas. This contemplation he called "no mindfulness" (*wu-nien*) in order to distinguish it from the sort of contemplation that dwells on an object of meditation. Shen-

hui's "no mindfulness," I would argue, had the same meaning as the concept of "no mind" (*wu-hsin*) that appeared in the *Wu-hsing lun*. It signifies a direct or "im-mediate" intuition of the true (i.e. empty) nature of thought (*nien*, *hsin*) even as thought (whether agitated as usual or concentrated in mindfulness) continues to run its course. Because emptiness itself is not (or should not be) set up or grasped as an object of mindfulness, its realization is described as "no mindfulness."

In Shen-hui's philosophical position, to repeat, there was nothing that was particularly original. Yanagida is in tacit agreement with this point, for his argument in essence is that Shen-hui's real break with past took place on the level of practical training. It was Shen-hui's rejection of seated dhyāna as an expedient device (*fang-pien*), Yanagida says, that was really innovative.

This brings us to the crux of the matter of Shen-hui's supposed "pronouncement of a new Ch'an which renounces *ch'an* itself," which is the problem of conrete evidence. If all of Shen-hui's seemingly radical statements about the true nature of *ch'an* are prefigured in earlier texts, and if (as we have established) those texts do not teach a literal rejection of seated dhyāna, then what evidence is there that Shen-hui intended his listeners to literally cease the practice of seated dhyāna? How do we know, in other words, that his teachings were not meant to guide persons actually engaged in dhyāna? In the passages cited by Hu Shih and Yanagida, I fail to see any points made by Shen-hui that might be construed as an unambiguous attack on the practice of seated dhyāna as an expedient. By the same token, there is little concrete evidence in Shen-hui's writings that would allow us to draw the opposite conclusion, to wit, that he took the practice of seated dhyāna for granted.

The *Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan*, as Yanagida points out, has Hui-neng saying,

> I only speak of seeing the nature (*chien-hsing*), I do not speak of dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*), liberation (*chiai-

> *t'o*), the unconditioned (*wu-wei*), or an absence of impurities (*wu-lou*).... *ch'an* is nothing other than that which the *Nieh-p'an ching* (*Nirvāṇa Sutra*) designates as the Buddha nature (*fo-hsing*), the dharma of non-duality.[79]

Again, it is difficult to see how this statement represents a rejection of the actual practice of seated dhyāna as an expedient.

In support of his contention that Ma-tsu rejected seated dhyāna Yanagida cites Ma-tsu's recorded sayings:

> "When one thoroughly understands both mind (*hsin*) and the object of meditation (*ching-chiai*), then delusion (*wang-hsiang*) does not arise."[80] When delusion does not arise, this is acceptance (*jen*) of the dharma of non-production (*wu-sheng*). That which exists from the beginning (*pen-yu*) exists now; it does not depend on cultivating the Way and sitting in dhyāna (*pu-chia hsiu-tao tso-ch'an*). Not cultivating and not sitting is the pure *ch'an* of the tathāgatas.[81]

In Yanagida's Japanese translation of this passage he construes *pu-chia hsiu-tao tso-ch'an* as meaning "it is not necessary [for practitioners of Buddhism] to cultivate the Way and sit in dhyāna." Such a reading supports his contention that Ma-tsu rejected the actual practice of seated dhyāna, but it strains the Chinese grammar of the original (by gratuitously adding an implied subject where one is not needed) and misses the real point of the passage, which is that the "originally existing" (*pen-yu*) -- the unproduced, unconditioned Buddha nature -- is not something that depends on dhyāna practice or any other form of cultivation. The definition of tathāgata *ch'an* as "not cultivating and not sitting," it must be admitted, can easily be construed as an injunction to literally give up sitting in dhyāna. But it can just as easily be understood as a caution not to mistake the real aim of dhyāna while actually practicing it. The reference to understanding both mind (the meditating "subject") and the object of meditation, it could be argued, is a good indication that Ma-tsu was indeed addressing his remarks to persons actually engaged in concentrating the mind in seated dhyāna. From the point of view of the non-production of dhar-

mas, which is the standpoint of tathāgata *ch'an* as Ma-tsu defines it, cultivating is "not-cultivating" and sitting is "not-sitting": for who is there to sit, and what is there to cultivate? But statements like this made at the level of "ultimate truth" tell us nothing about sitting or not sitting as an expedient practice.

In response to Hu Shih's thesis that Shen-hui abandoned the practice of dhyāna, Philip Yampolsky remarks that if that was the case, then Shen-hui's ideas must have been "totally ignored by later Ch'an teachers, for certainly meditation was practiced by the later schools."[82] A similar point may be raised with regard to Ma-tsu, whose lineage was embraced as one of the two main lines of orthodoxy by Ch'an followers in the Sung, by which time the practice of seated dhyāna was unquestionably an important part of Ch'an monastery life. Indeed, according to the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, it was Ma-tsu's own disciple Pai-chang who established the first independent Ch'an monastery, in which the assiduous practice of seated dhyāna was *de rigueur*.[83] The *Tun-wu yao-men*, which clearly urges the practice of seated dhyāna, is also attributed (albeit problematically from the standpoint of critical scholarship) to a disciple of Ma-tsu.[84]

As I shall argue in Chapter Six of this study, the sort of concrete historical evidence that would be needed to prove that figures such as Shen-hui and Ma-tsu either did or did not literally reject the practice of seated dhyāna has yet to be mustered. The matter cannot be decided on the basis of practices engaged in by persons who later claimed to belong to Shen-hui's or Ma-tsu's Dharma lineages. Nor can it be decided by extrapolating a picture of Shen-hui's or Ma-tsu's approach to the actual practice of Buddhism from their doctinal proclamations, because statements at the level of "ultimate truth" do not translate directly into instructions for concrete action on the plane of relative truth.

When it comes to determining the influence that the written records of such figures as Shen-hui and Ma-tsu had on later generations of Buddhists in China, however, the *perceptions*

that those records fostered may have been more significant than what we now consider the historically verifiable facts. In other words, whether or not Shen-hui and Ma-tsu actually interpreted *ch'an* in such a way that they literally rejected the practice of dhyāna, their teachings could easily have been construed in that manner by following generations. The sort of conclusions that Hu Shih and Yanagida reach on the basis of Shen-hui's and Ma-tsu's sermons, while not grounded in proper historical evidence, might just as easily have been reached by Buddhists in the Sung who compiled and studied the recorded sayings of the T'ang "Ch'an" masters, or even by Buddhists who encountered such sermons as recently as a generation or two after they were first set to paper. It is interesting to note in this connection that Tsung-mi, who claimed to belong to Shen-hui's Dharma lineage, was at pains to argue that Shen-hui had allowed every sort of Buddhist practice (including, of course, seated dhyāna) as expedients (*fang-pien*).[85] Tsung-mi, to be sure, was eager to promote his own vision of the Buddhist path, and what he says about Shen-hui must be interpreted in that light. It is clear, however, that he recognized a tendency for people in his day to construe Shen-hui's writings as a literal rejection of all expedients, and wished to argue that such had not been Shen-hui's true intention.

In discussing the Sung conception of Ch'an monastic institutions above, we noted that a Ch'an master in the Sung view was not necessarily a person who specialized in the practice of seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*). Neither, of course, was he necessarily one who rejected seated dhyāna. A Ch'an master in the Sung view was anyone who had succeeded to the Ch'an lineage stemming from Bodhidharma, a lineage which was defined not by the transmission (or rejection) of the expedient of dhyāna practice, but by the transmission of enlightenment. Thus we find in Sung works such as the *Shih-mĕn lín-chien lu* the argument that Bodhidharma was no mere teacher of dhyāna, but someone who while taking the external form of a dhyāna practitioner ("sitting peacefully facing a wall") transmitted the Buddha's perfect enlightenment

in its entirety.[86] Implicit in this understanding, of course, was an identification of *ch'an* with enlightenment, an identification that clearly derived from the "mahāyānist" critiques of *ch'an* that flourished in the T'ang. In their more extreme forms, those critiques may have been intended (as Hu Shih and Yanagida believe) or mistakenly construed (as Tsung-mi feared) to dissociate the lineage of Bodhidharma from the actual practice of dhyāna and other traditional modes of Buddhist cult and discipline. By the Sung, however, there is no question that the identification of *ch'an* with enlightenment was generally understood in a way that allowed the Ch'an school to embrace as an expedient not only seated dhyāna, but many other forms of Buddhist practice as well.

The Meaning of the Term *ch'an-men* in T'ang Sources

In the Sung dynasty, the term *ch'an-men* (literally, "*ch'an* gate") was widely used as a synonym for *ch'an-tsung* ("*ch'an* lineage"). These two terms were employed virtually interchangeably by Sung historiographers to refer collectively to the lineages of Dharma inheritance deriving from Bodhidharma. We have already noted that the term *ch'an-tsung* only began to take on the meaning of a lineage stemming from Bodhidharma around the turn of the ninth century, and that it was probably first used in the broader sense of a group of such lineages by Tsung-mi. In any case, the expression *ch'an-tsung* appears but infrequently in T'ang Buddhist writings. The term *ch'an-men*, however, appears relatively often in pre-Sung sources. Two questions that arise, then, are at what point *ch'an-men* came to refer to a lineage stemming from Bodhidharma, and at what point it was first used to refer to that lineage in the broad sense embraced by the Sung historiographers. If it could be shown that the term *ch'an-men* was used in the latter sense prior to the ninth century, then a case could be made that the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage had an earlier precedent than any revealed by the foregoing study of the term *ch'an-tsung* itself.

The term *ch'an-men* in the Chinese Buddhist tradition was

originally used to refer to dhyāna (*ch'an*) as a "gate" (*men*) or "entry" to an understanding of Buddhism. The *ch'an-men* or "approach through dhyāna was considered but one of many possible Dharma gates (*fa-men*; Skt. *dharma-paryāya*) or "means of entering (practicing, experiencing) Dharma." The term *ch'an* in the combination *ch'an-men* meant dhyāna in the conventional sense of the second of the so-called three branches of training (morality, meditation, and wisdom) or the second of the six perfections (giving, morality, patience, energy, meditation, and wisdom). Thus *ch'an-men*, like the term *ch'an* itself, originally denoted a particular form of Buddhist practice rather than a denomination or school of thought.

A good example of this usage may be found in Chih-i's *Ch'an-men k'ou-chüeh*[87] (*Secrets of the Dhyāna Gate*), a text which explains various techniques associated with the practice of seated dhyāna such as posture, breath control, and how to deal with mental states that arise in meditation. It is clear from this and a number of other works associated with the T'ien-t'ai tradition which focus on the "dhyāna gate" (*ch'an-men*) that in the sixth and seventh centuries there was no particular connection drawn between the *ch'an-men* and a lineage deriving from Bodhidharma.[88]

In the seventh century the term *ch'an-men* also designated the class of monks (not necessarily affiliated with each other in any formal, institutionalized way) who specialized in dhyāna. In Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan* we find dhyāna practitioners who had no connection with what was later called the "Ch'an" lineage of Bodhidharma referred to as "those who take the dhyāna approach" (*ch'an-men che*).[89] Tao-hsüan used the term *ch'an-men* primarily to refer to a mode of practice, that of seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*), rather than a set of doctrines. However, from the earliest introduction of the Buddhist meditation tradition into China, which began in the fourth century with the translation of Indian dhyāna manuals (*ch'an-ching*), there were also Buddhists whose interests in dhyāna tended more toward the theoretical and philosophical than the practical,

and these too were considered "followers of the dhyāna approach" (*ch'an-men*).[90]

While retaining the basic meanings just discussed, the term *ch'an-men* began to take on a new significance in the early T'ang dynasty as the practice of *ch'an* (dhyāna) itself was reinterpreted from a theoretical standpoint that Chinese Buddhists understood as "Mahāyānist." When true *ch'an* ("bodhisattva *ch'an*", "tathāgata *ch'an*," etc.) was defined in texts such as the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* and the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching*[91] in terms of realizing the emptiness of all dharmas, the meaning of taking the "dhyāna approach" (*ch'an-men*) naturally underwent a significant change. From a set of physical and mental techniques understood as a practical, step-by-step approach to enlightenment, the so-called *ch'an-men* came to be understood as an "immediate" approach to enlightenment: an approach that took the goal itself (the realization of the emptiness of dharmas) as a starting point, and thus in the final analysis did not depend on any particular techniques or conditions, although it could utilize them as expedients (*fang-pien*). Such a reinterpretation of the "dhyāna gate" may be found, for example, in the *Ch'an-men ching*,[92] a "sutra" composed in China sometime between 695 and 730 which is regarded as representing the sudden enlightenment (*tun-wu*) teaching of the so-called Northern school of Ch'an.[93]

There are some indications that followers of the Northern school in the eighth century may have begun to use the term *ch'an-men* in a proprietary sense to refer to a lineage of Dharma transmission that they traced back through Shen-hsiu and Hung-jen to Bodhidharma, but this is not certain. The *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* speaks of Tao-hsin as the *ch'an* master (*ch'an-shih*) who "reopened the *ch'an* gate (*ch'an-men*)," which then gained in popularity throughout the land.[94] Shen-hsiu's disciples P'u-chi (675–739), Ching-hsien (660–723), I-fu (658–736), and Hui-fu (n.d.) are described later in the same text as all having "become monks when they were young, been pure in their practice of the precepts, sought teachers and inquired about

the Way, and traveled far to investigate the *ch'an* gate (*ch'an-men*)."[95] What the term *ch'an-men* meant in these contexts is not clear: it could be interpreted either as a reference to the traditional practice of seated dhyāna as an expedient, or as a reference to *ch'an* in the redefined sense of "not keeping any dharmas in mind" whether one is sitting in dhyāna or engaged in any other activity. Nevertheless, it does seem that the followers of the so-called Northern school in the generations after Shen-hsiu regarded their own Dharma lineage as representing the *ch'an* approach (*ch'an-men*).

There is, in a catalogue of Buddhist scriptures written by Enchin, a Japanese Tendai school monk who traveled in China from 853 to 858, mention of a text entitled the *Ch'an-men ch'i-tsu hsing-chuang pei-ming* (*Stele Recording the Circumstances of the Seven Ancestors of the Ch'an Gate*).[96] The identities of the seven ancestors referred to therein is a matter of speculation, but the reference is almost certainly to one of the lists of seven formulated by different branches of the Northern school.[97] Although the text itself is lost, and there is no way to date it with certainty any earlier than the first half of the ninth century, the title suggests that the Northern school in the generations after Shen-hsiu may have used the term *ch'an-men* to refer exclusively to its own lineage. The title, of course, may also have been simply a description of the contents of the stele (rather than part of the inscription itself) made up by Enchin or someone else in the middle of the ninth century, by which time (as we know from Tsung-mi) the term *ch'an-men* was definitely used to refer to a Dharma lineage deriving from Bodhidharma.

The Northern school was not the only branch of the so-called early "Ch'an" school that claimed to represent the true "dhyāna approach" (*ch'an-men*) and explained that approach in terms of the doctrine of sudden enlightenment. Shen-hui presented his own doctrinal position as "the sudden teaching of the *ch'an* gate to liberation through the immediate realization of the essential nature" (*tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih-*

liao-hsing).[98] Toward the end of the eighth century, the Pao-t'ang school of Wu-chu also presented itself as the "sudden enlightenment Mahayana *ch'an* gate" (*tun-wu ta-ch'eng ch'an-men*).[99] This school taught that *ch'an-men* was another name for "the mysterious gate of all the Buddhas (*chu-fo chih mi-men*), the perfection of wisdom (*po-jo-po-lo-mi*)," and that it was synonomous with "the first principle (*ti-i-i*), the peerless gate (*pu-erh-men*), seeing the essential nature (*chien-hsing*), things as they are (*chen-ju*), and nirvana (*nieh-p'an*)."[100]

It seems that the schools of Shen-hui and Wu-chu emulated the Northern school (and attempted to siphon off its prestige) not only by creating their own similar genealogies, but also by presenting themselves as the true transmitters of the *ch'an* approach (*ch'an-men*). In any case, the tendency for the different factions that claimed descent from Bodhidharma to identify themselves as representatives of the *ch'an-men* was clearly evident in the latter part of the eighth century. It was this association of the Bodhidharma's lineage with the *ch'an-men* that paved the way for the subsequent emergence of name "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) as a term of self-reference in the Hung-chou school around the turn of the ninth century. As late as 804, however, when the Japanese monk Saichō (767-822) traveled to China, he saw fit to list the works of Ch'ih-i that dealt with the actual practice of dhyāna under the heading of "Ch'an gate section" (*ch'an-men pu*) in a catalogue of texts that he compiled.[101] From this we know that the term *ch'an-men* was still used in some quarters to refer to the practice of dhyāna in the traditional sense, and was by no means exclusively identified with lineages deriving from Bodhidharma.

The use of the term *ch'an-men* to refer collectively to various lineages that claimed to transmit Bodhidharma's Dharma, like the corresponding use of the name *ch'an-tsung*, first appears in Tsung-mi's writings. Tsung-mi, as we shall see in the following section, used the expression "masters and disciples of the *ch'an* approach" (*ch'an-men shih-tzu*) to refer to all the Dharma lineages (*tsung*) originating with Bodhidharma, and spoke

of the "essential doctrines of the *ch'an* approach" (*ch'an-men tsung-chih*) as something that they had in common.[102] In these contexts, what Tsung-mi meant by *ch'an-men* was a more or less homogeneous doctrinal tradition, in other words, a "Ch'an school." There is evidence that by the middle of the ninth century this usage was not limited to partisans of the "Ch'an" school. The Japanese pilgrim Ennin (792-862), who traveled in T'ang China from 838 to 847, recorded two meetings with groups of "monks of the *ch'an* approach school" (*ch'an-men-tsung seng*), by which he clearly meant not dhyāna practitioners as such, but followers of a particular teaching tradition.[103]

Tsung-mi's Conception of the Ch'an Lineage

In the preceding sections of this chapter I alluded to the fact that the earliest clear precedent for the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage as an extended family descended from Bodhidharma is found in the writings of Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841). Tsung-mi actually used the expressions *ch'an-tsung* and *ch'an-men*, or simply *ch'an* (these terms are roughly interchangeable for him) in three different senses, to refer (1) in a general way to all the competing lineages claiming descent from Bodhidharma; (2) to refer even more broadly to all the schools in China that stressed some form of dhyāna practice; and (3) to refer most broadly to all conceivable approaches to dhyāna practice.

At the start of his most expansive characterization of Ch'an, which appears in the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* (*General Preface to the Collection of Explanations of the Source of Ch'an*), Tsung-mi states that "reality (*chen-hsing*) is neither defiled nor pure, and has no distinctions of ordinary [i.e. delusion] and saintly [i.e. enlightenment], but in Ch'an there are different grades, some shallow some deep."[104] He then proceeds to outline five types of Ch'an:[105] (1) the Ch'an of non-Buddhists (*wai-tao ch'an*), meaning dhyāna practice informed by non-Buddhist religious philosophies; (2) the Ch'an of ordi-

nary [i.e. deluded] persons (*fan-fu ch'an*), meaning dhyāna practice undertaken by persons who accept the Buddhist doctrine of causality and naively hope to attain some sort of concrete reward or benefit as the karmic result of their efforts; (3) the Ch'an of the small vehicle (*shao-ch'eng ch'an*), meaning dhyāna practice informed by the Hīnayāna doctrine of no-self (or, as Tsung-mi puts it, the "emptiness of self"); (4) the Ch'an of the great vehicle (*ta-ch'eng ch'an*), meaning dhyāna practice informed by the Mahāyāna doctrine of the emptiness of both self and dharmas; and (5) the Ch'an of the highest vehicle (*tsui-shang-ch'eng ch'an*), meaning dhyāna practice based on "sudden awakening (*tun-wu*) [to the truth that] the mind is of itself pure from the start, at root without perturbations (*fan-nao*) or defilements (*lou*), and in its original state fully equipped with wisdom, [and that] this mind is Buddha." Some synonyms for this "Ch'an of the highest vehicle," Tsung-mi continues, are the "pure Ch'an of the tathāgatas" (*ju-lai ch'ing-ching ch'an*), the "one practice samādhi" (*i-hsing san-mei*),[106] and the "samādhi of things as they are" (*chen-ju san-mei*). He concludes by stating that the "Ch'an of the highest vehicle" is the type of Ch'an transmitted by the followers of Bodhidharma. Before Bodhidharma came to China, he says, there were various schools and illustrious monks (such as Hui-ssu and Chih-i) teaching and practicing Ch'an but they all took the approach of one of the first four types of Ch'an explained above. The Ch'an transmitted by Bodhidharma, Tsung-mi asserts, is different in that it alone is based on immediate (*tun*) identification with Buddhahood.

It is significant that in his treatment of the five types of Ch'an, Tsung-mi distinguishes between them on the basis of differences in the doctrinal understanding with which the practice of dhyāna may be undertaken, rather than differences in the fundamental techniques of dhyāna practice.[107] The latter Tsung-mi regarded as something of a common denominator. This is evident in an earlier passage in the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, where he explains what he considers to be the "expe-

dient means for entering into the realm of dhyāna" (*ju ch'an-ching fang-pien*), and then states that the use of these was something that all of the major lineages (*tsung*) of Ch'an had in common, despite their different doctrinal views.[108] The "expedient means" are:

> Separate yourself from vexations and disturbances; seclude yourself in a quiet place; adjust your bodily posture and breathing; sit quietly with legs crossed [in the "lotus position"]; press the tongue against the roof of the mouth; and concentrate the mind on one object.[109]

Now, these expedients are nothing other than the most fundamental instructions -- simple physical and mental techniques -- for the practice of dhyāna, which have been common to all branches of the Buddhist tradition throughout its history, and indeed are not unique to that tradition, but are found in other Indian religions as well. The objects (*ching* = Skt. *viṣaya*) on which the mind is to be concentrated, the nature of the reflective processes (if any) that are to take place once concentration is achieved, and the overall religious and philosophical framework in which the practice of dhyāna is to be understood, of course, have all been prescribed and explained in many different ways in the course of Buddhism's multifarious development. Tsung-mi, who was keenly aware of differences that existed in the approach to and interpretation of dhyāna practice, regarded the adherence of the above set of fundamental dhyāna techniques as the one thing that all the "various lineages of Ch'an" in China had in common. The full range of Ch'an lineages (*ch'an-tsung*), in Tsung-mi's understanding, included some that transmitted Bodhidharma's "Ch'an of the highest vehicle," as well as some that did not. Insofar as he included all dhyāna practitioners under the headings of *ch'an-tsung* and *ch'an-men*, Tsung-mi's use of these terms resembled that of Tao-hsüan in his *Hsü kao-seng chuan*.

Elsewhere in the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* Tsung-mi states that "Ch'an has various lineages which are at odds with each other," so many, in fact, that "if all their sayings were

collected, it would be like the 'one hundred schools' [of ancient philosophy]."[110] Nevertheless, he continues, in terms of fundamental doctrinal differences the various lineages can be summed up in terms of ten "houses" (*shih*). The ten Ch'an lineages Tsung-mi lists in this context are as follows:[111]

(1) "Kiangsi." The lineage of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788), also referred to in Tsung-mi's writings as the Hung-chou lineage. Ma-tsu was closely associated with the Kai-yüan Monastery in Hung-chou (an area of Kiangsi).[112] According to Tsung-mi, Ma-tsu was a disciple of Kim Ho-shang (Wu-hsiang; 684–762) before he became a follower of Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677–744), a Dharma heir of the sixth ancestor Hui-neng (d. 713).[113]

(2) "Ho-tse." The lineage of Ho-tse Shen-hui (670–762), who derived his name from the Ho-tse Monastery in the capital Lo-yang where he resided from 745.[114] Tsung-mi claimed that Shen-hui was the legitimate seventh ancestor in the line of succession from Hung-jen (d. 674) and Hui-neng, and regarded himself as a follower of the Ho-tse lineage.[115]

(3) "Hsiu of the North." The lineage of Shen-hsiu (d. 706), a "disciple of the fifth ancestor Hung-jen" whom Tsung-mi regarded as the "source" or founder (*tsung-yüan*) of the Northern lineage; its teachings were "greatly spread by his disciples P'u-chi (675–739) and others."[116]

(4) "Hsien of the South." The lineage of Chih-hsien (609–702), regarded by Tsung-mi as "one of the ten persons" who "emerged in the division [of the lineage] following the fifth ancestor."[117] Tsung-mi says that Chih-hsien's line was represented in succeeding generations by his immediate disciple Chu-chi (669–732), and that one of Chu-chi's four disciples, Kim Ho-shang (also known as Wu-hsiang) of the Ching-chung Monastery in Cheng-t'u, greatly spread its teachings.

(5) "Niu-t'ou." The "Ox-head" lineage of Niu-t'ou Hui-jung (Fa-jung; 594–657)), who derived his name from Mt. Niu-t'ou, a monastic center outside Chin-ling (Nanking) where he is said to have built a detached retreat for dhyāna practice

(*ch'an-shih*) -- a thatched hut beneath a cliff -- on the north side of the Yü-hsi Monastery, and eventually attracted a large following.[118] According to Tsung-mi, Hui-jung was a student of the fourth ancestor Tao-hsin (580-651) on a par with Hung-jen, but did not meet Tao-hsin until after Hung-jen had been chosen as Tao-hsin's successor. Thus Hui-jung could not become the fifth ancestor, but was given permission by Tao-hsin to start his own separate lineage. This he did after settling on Mt. Niu-t'ou, Tsung-mi concludes, becoming the first in a line of six Niu-t'ou ancestors.[119]

(6) "Shih-t'ou." The lineage of Sh'ih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien (700-790), who is said to have derived his name from the fact that he dwelt in a hermitage for meditation practice built on top of some rocks (*shih-t'ou*) to the east of the Nan Monastery on Mt. Heng in Nan-yüeh in Hunan.[120] The traditional (Sung) account makes him a young student of Hui-neng who eventually inherited the Dharma from Hui-neng's disciple Ch'ing-yüan after Hui-neng's death. Tsung-mi, however, was either unaware of this purported connection with Hui-neng, or chose to ignore it in his account of the Shih-t'ou lineage, which is only mentioned briefly in the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*,[121] and not at all in his other writings on Ch'an lineages.

(7) "Pao-t'ang." The lineage of Wu-chu (714-775), who resided in the Pao-t'ang Monastery in Szechuan. According to Tsung-mi, Wu-chu "recognized Kim Ho-shang as his master," and taught much the same doctrines, but took a completely different approach to practice ("ritual procedures for transmitting the doctrine") than Kim's other followers. Wu-chu's original teacher, Tsung-mi says, was Ch'en Ch'u-chang, a lay disciple of Lao-an (Hui-an; 582-709), who in turn was one of those who "emerged in the division [of the lineage] following the fifth ancestor."[122]

(8) "Hsüan-shih." The lineage of Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih, which was centered in Szechuan. Tsung-mi considered Hsüan-shih an-

other of the disciples who "emerged in the division [of the lineage] following the fifth ancestor."[123]

(9) "Ch'ou and Na." The reference here is actually to two separate lineages, which Tsung-mi seems to have lumped together in this context on the grounds that they were doctrinally similar: elsewhere he mentions them separately.[124] "Ch'ou" indicates the lineage of Hui-ch'ou (Seng-ch'ou; 480-560), a prominent dhyāna master in North China who seems to have taught a method of contemplation that included both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna elements.[125] According to the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, Seng-ch'ou was a disciple of Buddha[bhadra] (359-429), an Indian dhyāna and Vinaya master.[126] "Na" refers to the lineage of Guṇabhadra (Ch'iu-na-pa-t'o-lo; 394-468), another Indian dhyāna master. Both of these Indian monks were translators of texts related to dhyāna practice and theory.[127]

(10) "T'ien-t'ai." The lineage of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538-592), who derived his name from Mt. T'ien-t'ai in Chekiang, where he and his followers established what was to become one of the major monastic centers in T'ang China.

The first eight in this list of ten Ch'an lineages, it may be noted, were all regarded by Tsung-mi as deriving from Bodhidharma, whereas the last two, "Ch'ou and Na" and T'ien-t'ai, were not. Correlating this list of ten with his outline of five types of Ch'an, it may be said that in Tsung-mi's view the first eight lineages represented the "Ch'an of the highest vehicle," the T'ien-t'ai lineage represented the "Ch'an of the great vehicle," and the lineages of Ch'ou and Na, perhaps (Tsung-mi gives no critique of their teachings) represented the "Ch'an of the small vehicle." As we shall see shortly, Tsung-mi did not view all of the Ch'an lineages deriving from Bodhidharma as equals in their understanding and practice of the first ancestor's Dharma. He did, however, regard them as having a common spiritual heritage that distinguished them from other branches of the broader Ch'an tradition: the doctrine of

sudden enlightenment (*tun-wu*).

Tsung-mi's understanding of the nature of the patriarchal succession stemming from Bodhidharma was an ambiguous one which straddled the notion of the exclusivity of Dharma transmission evinced in the early lamp histories, and the later, more tolerant conception that allowed for the division of a lineage into equally legitimate branches. In Tsung-mi's view, there was a unilinear ancestral succession that extended from Bodhidharma to Hung-jen. The notion that each of the first four ancestors could have but one legitimate Dharma heir is clearly expresssed in his account of Tao-hsin giving Niu-t'ou Fa-jung permission to found his own separate lineage since Hung-jen had already been selected as the fifth ancestor. After the fifth ancestor, however, there was a division of the lineage: Tsung-mi refers to ten disciples of Hung-jen, and regards them all as legitimate heirs to Bodhidharma's Dharma.[128] Hui-neng, to be sure, is identified as the sixth ancestor, but from the broader perspective that Tsung-mi is also wont to adopt, Hui-neng is depicted as merely the first among equals.

The ambiguity of Tsung-mi's outlook is evident if we compare the stance he takes in his *Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u* (*Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Ch'an Gate Which Transmits the Mind Ground in China*), on the one hand, and his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* on the other. In the former work Tsung-mi argued vigorously on doctrinal grounds that the Ho-tse lineage best preserved the Dharma transmitted by Bodhidharma. He also held that Shen-hui was the seventh ancestor following Hui-neng.[129] In support of this assertion, he claimed that the emperor Te-tsung had proclaimed Shen-hui the seventh ancestor at an assembly of Ch'an masters convened in 796.[130] The Niu-t'ou, Northern, and Hung-chou lineages he labeled as "collateral offshoots" (*p'ang-ch'u*) stemming from the fourth, fifth and sixth ancestors, respectively.[131] In this text we find Tsung-mi at his most disputatious, clearly concerned with establishing the orthodoxy of Ho-tse doctrines (as he interpreted them) at the expense of com-

peting lineages. Scholars such as Yanagida and Kamata Shigeo have stressed this factional aspect of Tsung-mi's approach, and pointed out, in particular, his opposition to the Pao-t'ang and Hung-chou schools that were flourishing in his day.[132]

In the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, however, we see the other side of Tsung-mi. There he set out to harmonize the various Ch'an lineages (as given in the list of ten above), and took the position that in one sense all of the competing lineages were equally in error, since they clung to one-sided views, and that in another sense they were equally correct, since they each offered expedient means of cultivation that might be appropriate for certain persons.[133] In this text, too, Tsung-mi referred to Shen-hui as "the seventh ancestor, Ch'an master Ho-tse," and showed a clear preference for Ho-tse teachings. But when speaking from the higher standpoint just mentioned he did not distinguish between the Ho-tse lineage and the other Ch'an lineages. In Tsung-mi's view, the question of orthodoxy or heterodoxy was only valid on the plane of relative truth.

It was, in fact, the Mahāyāna doctrine of two truths that informed Tsung-mi's analysis of the Ch'an lineages, and permitted him, on the one hand, to vigorously champion the Ho-tse line as the one orthodox lineage descended from Bodhidharma, while taking, on the other hand, a broad view of the Ch'an tradition that allowed for the coexistence of competing branches on one family tree. Tsung-mi's reliance on the doctrine of two truths is evinced, among other places,[134] in his defense of the assertion that Shen-hui was the seventh ancestor, found in the *Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u*. When questioned why, if there was a seventh ancestor, there was not also an eighth, ninth and tenth, and why if the patriarchy had ended it should have ended with the seventh instead of the sixth ancestor, Tsung-mi replied:

> From the standpoint of the highest truth (*chen-ti*), name and number are at root cut off; when not even one [thing] exists, how can we speak of six or seven? What

> I express now concerning the method of [numerically] ordering the generations of [Dharma] transmission from master to disciple is [merely] in accordance with the conventions of relative truth (*su-ti*).[135]

For Tsung-mi, in other words, the concept of a patriarchal succession had no ultimate validity; it was merely a conventional formulation which, we may surmise, he regarded as a useful instructional device (*fang-pien*), or perhaps an unavoidable one, given the centrality of the issue in the world of Chinese Buddhism in his day.

From the hostile question posed to Tsung-mi (by P'ei Hsiu, a powerful government official and patron of Buddhism who is Tsung-mi's purported interlocutor in the *Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u*) concerning the positing of a seventh ancestor, we may infer that the notion that Hui-neng, the sixth ancestor, was the last in the unilinear succession from Bodhidharma had already gained currency in Buddhist circles in Tsung-mi's day. Tsung-mi, as we see in his liberal attitude granting legitimacy to all ten of the fifth patriarch Hung-jen's disciples, was basically in sympathy with the notion that Bodhidharma's lineage had branched out, and that the tradition of handing the Dharma on to but one person had come to an end. This is also clear from the fact that Tsung-mi conceded that Nan-yüeh, the teacher of Ma-tsu, had received "transmission of the robe" symbolizing succession to Bodhidharma's lineage from Hui-neng,[136] even as he stessed that Shen-hui was Hui-neng's legitimate heir. It is likely that Tsung-mi felt constrained to make his claim that Shen-hui was the seventh ancestor in order to counter similar claims being made by partisans of the Pao-t'ang and Hung-chou schools -- to fight fire with fire, as it were, in combatting what he saw as the dangerously one-sided views and factionalism of the Pao-t'ang and Hung-chou schools.

In particular, Tsung-mi was opposed to the doctrinal tendency, evident in the both of the aforementioned schools, to equate Ch'an with the highest truth, or ultimate reality. In his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* he wrote:

> Those people nowadays who simply regard the True Na-

> ture (*chen-hsing*) as *ch'an* do not understand the significance of principle (*li*) and practice (*hsing*), and ignore the fact that the Chinese [*ch'an*] derives from an Indian term. Now, I do not mean to imply that there is an entity "*ch'an*" that exists apart from the True Nature. It is just that when living beings lose sight of the real and embrace dust, we call it confusion, and when they turn away from dust and embrace the real, we call it dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*). If we are to speak directly of the Original Nature (*pen-hsing*), then there is no question of "real" or "unreal," there is no turning away or embracing, and no calm (*ting*) or confusion: who, then, would speak of "*ch'an*"? Moreover, this Original Nature is not only the source of the Ch'an gate (*ch'an-men*). Because it is also the source of all dharmas, it is called the Dharma Nature (*fa-hsing*). Because it is also the source of living beings' delusion and enlightenment, it is called the tathāgatagarbha and the storehouse consciousness (*tsang-shih*) (in the *Lankāvātara-sūtra*). Because it is also the source of the myriad virtues of the Buddhas, it is called the Buddha Nature (*fo-hsing*) (in the *Nirvāna* and other sutras). Because it is also the source of the myriad practices of a bodhisattva, it is called the Mind Ground (*hsin-ti*) (the "Mind Ground Dharma Gate Section" of the *Fan-wang ching* says: "This is the original source of all the Buddhas, and the root of the practice of the bodhisattva path; this is the basis for the great assembly of all the children of Buddha"). The myriad [bodhisattva] practices are all subsumed under the six pāramitās, and the Ch'an gate is but one of these six, namely, the fifth. How can those people view the True Nature as just the one practice, *ch'an*?[137]

As we see in this passage, Tsung-mi was not averse to employing the term Ch'an as a synonym for enlightenment or "embracing the real," which he contrasted with delusion or "embracing dust." In this respect, his use of the term Ch'an was consonant with the general "Mahāyānist" tendency in the T'ang to interpret true dhyāna (the "pure Ch'an of the tathāgatas") as the equivalent of insight into the True Nature, which makes one a Buddha. Tsung-mi stated in the immediately preceding section of his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* that realizing (*wu*) the originally enlightened True Nature, or Buddha nature, is called prajñā, that manifesting Buddha Nature in practice (*hsiu*) is called samādhi (*ting*), and that samādhi and prajñā together are called Ch'an.[138] Tsung-mi's idea that Ch'an encompasses both

samādhi and prajñā, and that these two represent the complementary aspects of realizing and practicing Buddha Nature, is reminiscent of the identication of samādhi and prajñā that is found in the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* and in Shen-hui's writings, where the relationship between these two is explained in terms of substance (*t'i*) and function (*yung*).[139] Nevertheless, Tsung-mi drew the line on interpretations of Ch'an that made it synonymous with Buddha nature, or suggested that the Ch'an gate was the one and only approach that was grounded in (and thus led back to) the True Nature. His objection to such interpretations, as we see in the passage just quoted, was partly based on the understanding that the Original Nature is something which in the final analysis cannot be caught in the net of discriminating concepts, and can only be indicated apophatically: to call it "Ch'an" would be to delimit it in a one-sided manner. But Tsung-mi seems to have been chiefly concerned with combatting the notion that the Ch'an gate, since it was based on an immediate identification with Buddhahood, obviated the need for the practice of the pāramitās (including the the fifth pāramitā, dhyāna itself). Thus we find him arguing that the Ch'an gate is but one of the six pāramitās. This argument, it could be said, contradicted Tsung-mi's own assertion that Ch'an subsumes both samādhi and prajñā (the sixth pāramitā): the inconsistency was evidently a price that Tsung-mi was willing to pay in order to invoke the authority of the Indian Buddhist tradition. By reasserting the original meaning of the term Ch'an he could both stress the importance of the actual practice of seated dhyāna, which he did immediately following in the same text,[140] and defend the rest of the pāramitās from the charge of irrelevancy that was leveled by more radical interpreters of the Ch'an gate.

As was mentioned above, the radical interpretations of the *ch'an-men* that Tsung-mi was concerned with counteracting had been put forward by the Pao-t'ang and Hung-chou schools. The tendency to identify Ch'an with the Original Nature that Tsung-mi attacks in the passage quoted above was in fact rather

strong in both of those schools, as we know not only from Tsung-mi's own writings but from sources associated with those schools themselves. The *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, for example, gives *ch'an-men* as a synonym for the highest truth (*ti-i-i*), suchness (*chen-ju*), and nirvāna.[141]

Moreover, in Tsung-mi's view, both the Pao-t'ang and the Hung-chou lineages erred in their tendency to interpret the doctrine of sudden enlightenment in such a way that it implied the literal non-cultivation of traditional Buddhist practices.[142] Tsung-mi's own position was that sudden enlightenment (*tun-wu*) -- by which he meant a kind of preliminary realization (*chieh-wu*) or cognizance of the fact that one's own True Mind (*chen-hsin*) or True Self (*chen-wo*) is by its very nature Buddha -- must be followed by a period of gradual cultivation (*chien-hsiu*) in which the false views and habitual modes of behavior that tend to obscure the Buddha Nature are systemically removed by practicing the pāramitās.[143]

Tsung-mi's conception of the Ch'an lineage, we have seen, clearly foreshadowed that of the Sung historiographers. Tsung-mi's ambivalence toward the notion of a strictly unilinear transmission of Dharma from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng and his acceptance of all the "collateral" branches as legitimate members of an extended Ch'an family were the two main features of an outlook that was to became the norm in Sung lamp histories such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. This is not to say that the Sung historiographers necessarily derived their conception of the Ch'an lineage directly from Tsung-mi's writings, but only that the type of syncretic, ecumenical Buddhism that was favored by Tsung-mi in the mid-T'ang eventually became the legacy of the Ch'an tradition in the Sung. A similar point may be made with respect to Tsung-mi's attitude toward traditional modes of Buddhist practice, including the practice of seated dhyāna. Although Ch'annists in the Sung all traced their Dharma lineages back to Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou, and the Ho-tse Shen-hui championed by Tsung-mi was said to have died out, the concrete approach to Buddhist practice taken by Ch'annists in the Sung

was rather similar to that taken earlier by Tsung-mi. Sung Ch'an displayed very little of the radical rejection of expedient practices that, in the view of scholars such as Yanagida, is supposed to have characterized the school of Ma-tsu in the mid-T'ang.

The Formation of the Sung Conception of the Ch'an Lineage

A question that remains, but cannot be answered with any degree of thoroughness in the present study, is why the Sung historiographers took the broad, ecumenical approach that they did in defining and promoting the "Ch'an lineage" as the orthodox transmitter of the Buddha Dharma. Why, in other words, do we not find Sung lamp histories which, like their T'ang predecessors, hold up a single line of Dharma inheritance as orthodox while stridently denouncing similar, competing genealogical claims? I cannot answer this question with any certainty, but I shall offer the following hypothesis as one that may serve to stimulate further research.

To understand the ideological and political significance of the conception of the Ch'an lineage that gained currency in the Northern Sung, it will be necessary to digress briefly and take into account the circumstances that had befallen Chinese Buddhism over the course of the previous two centuries, from the time of the An Lu-shan rebellion (755-763) in the middle of the T'ang down through the period of the Five Dynasties (907-959). Prior to the An Lu-shan rebellion, imperial patronage had played a decisive role in supporting the Buddhist order, and in determining which schools within it would flourish.[144] Although the court was probably motivated as much by a desire to control Buddhism as to promote it,[145] Buddhism was nevertheless afforded the status of a national religion. Various schools within it, including those which produced the Tun-huang lamp histories, vied vigorously for official recognition as legitimate representatives of the religion. Following the An Lu-shan rebellion, however, there was a gradual decentralization of political and economic power that led a growing number of Buddhist

clergy to seek patronage among provincial bureaucrats and military men. Many regional military governors became patrons of Buddhism in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, and were particularly drawn to the teachings of various *ch'an* masters (*ch'an-shih*), whose schools gained local prominence in areas remote from the capitals.[146]

The systematic suppression of Buddhist institutions that was instigated by imperial decree in the Hui-ch'ang era (841-846) greatly increased the role that provincial patrons played in the survival and subsequent development of Chinese Buddhism. The suppression resulted in the wholesale defrocking of Buddhist clergy, the closing or destruction of Buddhist monasteries, and the seizure of their wealth.[147] These measures were carried out wherever the power of the central T'ang government still extended, and the schools of Buddhism that had enjoyed imperial patronage in the vicinity of the capitals, including the so-called Northern school of Shen-hsiu and the Ho-tse school of Shen-hui, were greatly effected. There is evidence, however, that in some regions such as Kiang-si in the south (where the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu was flourishing) and Ho-pei in the north (where the school of Lin-chi was supported by a local warlord), the imperial edicts proscribing Buddhism were carried out half-heartedly, or even ignored.[148] The fact that certain branches of the "Ch'an lineage" came through the Hui-ch'ang suppression unscathed was probably due in large part to their distance -- both in terms of geography and of patronage -- from the T'ang court.

With the end of the Hui-ch'ang era and the ascension of a new emperor more favorably disposed towards Buddhism, the official policy of suppression was rescinded and some imperial patronage was restored, but that patronage became less and less significant as the empire finally disintegrated completely into local regimes in the final decades of the T'ang. The late T'ang and Five Dynasties, a period of political fragmentation, saw the development of what was later called the "five houses" of Ch'an under the protection of various local officials in areas

that were relatively free from strife.

Among the "five houses," the Wei-yang school was the first to flourish following the Hui-ch'ang suppression.[149] The Emperor Wu-tsung, who had presided over the supression, died in 846 and was succeeded by Hsüan-tsung, who was sympathetic to Buddhism. P'ei-hsiu (797-870), a powerful advisor in Hsüan-tsung's court, restored the T'ung-ch'ing Monastery on Mt. Wei in Hunan province where Wei-shan Ling-yu had resided before the suppression, and many disciples gathered there under that master once again. Another monastic center to be revived with P'ei-hsiu's patronage soon after the suppression was Mt. Huang-po in Kiangsi province, where Huang-po Hsi-yün (d. ca. 856) flourished.[150] Both Wei-shan Ling-yu and Huang-po Hsi-yün were disciples of Pai-chang Huai-hai, whose monastery on Mt. Pai-chang (also in Kiangsi) is supposed to have been the first independent Ch'an monastery. Meanwhile, the Lin-chi school began to thrive in far off Hopei with the support of non-Chinese warlords. The Yün-men school flourished in the area of Ling-nan, patronized by the rulers of the state of Nan Han. The Fa-yen school was centered in the Nan T'ang, a state made up of parts of the older kingdoms of Wu in Kiangsi and Min in Fukien. Each of these schools developed its own distinctive approach to Buddhist thought and practice in relative isolation from the others. Together with the Tung-shan school, they have been regarded since the Sung as the major streams of late T'ang and Five Dynasties Ch'an. As Yanagida suggests, however, there must have been numerous other similarly localized new developments in the Buddhism of this period.[151] The so-called "five houses" just happened to be schools for which records survived and were incorporated into the new genre of lamp histories that began to appear around the end of the Five Dynasties.

The earliest of those lamp histories, the *Tsu-t'ang chi*[152] (*Ancestors' Hall Collection*), was compiled in 952 by two monks who were followers in the third generation of the eminent *ch'an* master Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908).[153] The compilers resided at the Chao-ch'ing Cloister (*Chao-ch'ing-yüan*) in Ch'üan-chou

(in present Fukien). At the time, Ch'üan-chou was under the rule of the Nan T'ang but previously it had fallen within the boundaries of the kingdom of Min. The Chao-ch'ing Cloister had been built in 906 for a disciple of Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un (822-908) by the Wang family, the rulers of Min who had patronized Hsüeh-feng and many of his followers. The port cities of Ch'üan-chou and Fu-chou, where the Wangs were based, were relatively prosperous and free from the turmoil that engulfed other areas of China during Five Dynasties. Because patronage from the sympathetic local rulers was available there, Buddhist monks from the strife-torn regions took refuge in Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou, and the number of Hsü-feng's disciples grew to some 1,700.[154]

It was in this setting, where monks from all over China congregated and brought with them the legends and lineage claims of their own local schools, that the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was compiled. The authors drew heavily on the Hung-chou school's *Pao-lin chuan* for their account of the "Ch'an lineage" up through the sixth ancestor Hui-neng. For the generations following the sixth ancestor they naturally focused their attention primarily on figures in their own line of Dharma inheritance, which they traced from Hui-neng to Ch'ing-yüan and Shih-t'ou, down to Hsüeh-feng and two generations of the latter's disciples. They also had at hand, however, and were disposed to include in their history, biographies for many figures in the Nan-yüeh / Ma-tsu lineage that claimed descent from Hui-neng, as well as accounts of figures in the earlier "collateral" lineages of Niu-t'ou, Lao-an and Shen-hui.

The *Tsu-t'ang chi* is referred to by Yanagida as the "oldest extant history of the Ch'an lineage."[155] This is certainly true if by the "Ch'an lineage" we mean the Ch'an family tree as it was conceived by the Sung historiographers. We have seen, however, that as early as the 820's and '30's Tsung-mi had already depicted the "Ch'an lineage" in the same sort of liberal, all-inclusive way in his historical writings. It is probably rot possible to demonstrate any direct historical connection be-

tween Tsung-mi's conception of the Ch'an lineage and that embraced by the compilers of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. It is worth noting, however, that many of the tenth century *ch'an* masters who traced their Dharma lineages back to Hsüeh-feng were sympathetic to the sort of syncretic approach to Buddhist doctrine and practice that had been favored by Tsung-mi. For example, the influence of Hua-yen doctrines on the writings of Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958) is often remarked, and (as was mentioned in Chapter Two above), the Fa-yen school monks T'ien-t'ai Te-chao (891-972) and Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975) both took very broad views of the "Ch'an" tradition.[156] Te-chao's disciple Tao-yüan, moreover, was the compiler of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.

As fate would have it, the text of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was lost in China within about 150 years of its publication, although it was preserved as a valuable Ch'an history in Korea.[157] Never censored or banned in the Sung as a spurious work (as were the *Pao-lin chuan* and the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*), the *Tsu-t'ang chi* was probably simply overshadowed in China by the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and many subsequent lamp histories that were sanctioned as official histories and included in imperially sponsored editions of the Buddhist canon. Although it was similar in form and content to the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, at the time when the *Tsu-t'ang lu* was compiled the political situation in China was not yet ripe for it to take on the ideological function on the national level that the later lamp histories were to assume.

The state of Nan T'ang (and Min before it), like many of the independent kingdoms in both north and south China that competed for territory and economic and political influence during the tenth century, fancied itself an "empire" along the lines of the great T'ang dynasty. If the T'ang emperors before them had patronized the Buddhist order and built monasteries dedicated to the protection of the empire, then it was deemed fitting by the rulers of these states that they should follow suit. The authors of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, with their implicit claim to represent not just a single line of orthodox Buddhism,

but rather a great many lines that had thrived all over China in the T'ang, created a document that played nicely to this conceit: they made the Ch'an lineage in Fukien seem like the repository of all the glories of the past, and the true guardians of the flame of T'ang Buddhism.

Min and Nan T'ang, as it happened, were not the states to succeed in reunifying China and turning the rhetoric of empire into reality. That distinction (though never fully realized, due to the existence of the powerful Khitan state to the north), belonged to the Sung. In any case, with the political reunification of China around the end of the tenth century, the Buddhist church had an opportunity to regain its erstwhile status as an imperially sanctioned and supported national religion. At this time it was the "Ch'an lineage," broadly conceived in a manner that could capitalize on the prestige of the past and encompass various regional schools that were currently influential, that was able to come forward and present itself at the Sung court as the legitimate standard bearer of the Buddhist tradition as a whole. The depiction of the Ch'an lineage as an extended clan in lamp histories such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, I would suggest, provided the ideological framework for a unification of Chinese Buddhism, doctrinally and institutionally, that paralleled the political unification of the empire.

Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter that the concept of a lineage of Dharma transmission deriving from Bodhidharma first appeared (as far as extant sources are concerned) in the eighth century, in the so-called lamp histories of the Northern school and in the writings of Shen-hui. The early formulations of this lineage depicted the inheritance of Dharma from master to disciple in a unilinear fashion (at least down to the generation immediately preceding the authors themseves). These formulations were clearly intended to bolster the claims to religious legitimacy and orthodoxy of single factions within the Buddhist

order, and to further the attempts of such factions to gain imperial patronage. The name "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) does not seem to have been applied as a term of self-reference by any lineages claiming descent from Bodhidharma until the emergence of the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu around the turn of the ninth century. Nevertheless, the authors of such lineage claims in the eighth century clearly regarded themselves as representing a *ch'an* approach (*ch'an-men*) to enlightenment.

At the same time, the meaning of *ch'an* and the practical implications of taking the *ch'an* approach were issues that had became the focal point of considerable debate in Chinese Buddhism. Interpretations of *ch'an* from a "Mahāyāna" or "supra-Mahāyāna" standpoint generally allowed for the actual practice of seated dhyāna as an expedient, but in some extreme cases the *ch'an* approach was (or appeared to be) defined in such a way as to eliminate even seated dhyāna as a necessary practice.

Although a seemingly radical T'ang school, that of Ma-tsu, was later honored by the Sung historiographers as one of the two main trunks of the Ch'an family tree, the tolerant attitude of Sung Ch'annists towards all forms of Buddist practice, and the stress placed by some of them on the practice of seated dhyāna, find clearer precedents in the writings of Tsung-mi than in the records of the Hung-chou school. Tsung-mi was also the first to view the "Ch'an lineage" as a multi-branched family tree rather than a single ancestral line with a monopoly on the transmission of truth. His conservatism, his broad historical perspective, and his concern for melding conflicting views and claims into one harmonious whole, are qualities that are also characteristic of the Sung Ch'an historiographers.

Finally, in considering the formation of the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage, we should consider not only ideological precedents found in pre-Sung sources, but also historical circumstances associated with the foundation of the Sung dynasty. I have suggested that the conception of the Ch'an lineage favored by the Sung historiographers and generally accepted by the civil authorities may have served a politically useful

function by creating a sense of unity and continuity with the past in the sphere of organized religion (which, of course, was virtually a branch of government).

Notes to Chapter IV

[1] T 85 (no. 2838); P 2634; P 3858; P 3559; for a critical edition and annotated Japanese translation, see Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* I.

[2] T 85 (no. 2837); P 4564; P 3294; P 3537; P 3436; P 3703; S 2054; S 4272; for a critical edition and annotated Japanese translation, see Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* I; an English translation, entitled "Records of the Teachers and Students of the Lanka," may be found in J.C. Cleary, *Zen Dawn*.

[3] For a concise bibliography of texts by Shen-hui, see Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 24-25, note 67; also Yokoi (Yanagida) Seizan, "Tōshi no keifu," p. 15-20; also Suzuki Tetsuo, "Nanshū tōshi no shuchō," p. 80.

[4] T 51 (no. 2075); P 2125; P 3717; P 3727; S 516; S 1611; S 1776; S 5916; *Ishii sekisuiken bunko zenbon shomoku*, no. 20; for a critical edition and annotated Japanese translation, see Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* II; for a condensed English translation of the section on Wu-chu, see Jeffrey Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," pp. 19-29.

[5] In the process the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* gives considerable information on the school of Kim Ho-shang as well. The text tries to present Wu-chu as an honored disciple of Kim Ho-shang, but it is clear from Tsung-mi's *Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-t'i ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u*, from the *Pei-shan lu*, and from evidence in the text itself, that the schools Kim Ho-shang and Wu-chu were antagonistic (Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," pp. 30-33).

[6] Yokoi (Yanagida) Seizan, "Tōshi no keifu," p. 27.

[7] For an overview of the various extant recensions of this text, see Nakagawa Taka, ed., *Rokuso dankyō*, pp. 236-242; also Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 191. For a critical edition and English translation based on the Tun-huang manuscript, see Yampolsky; for an annotated Japanese translation see Nakagawa.

[8] See, for example, Yanagida Seizan, "Hokushū zen no shisō."

[9] Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* II, p. 142. For Yanagida's analysis of this story see, "The *Li-tai Fa-Pao Chi* and The

Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," pp. 21–22; for Yampolsky's analysis, see *The Platform Sutra*, p. 42; Stanley Weinstein accepts the historicity of Chih-hsien's visit to the court of Empress Wu ("Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism," p. 300). Whether the story has any basis in historical fact or not, the point remains the imperial court was regarded as the final arbiter of Dharma lineage claims. Kim Ho-shang, incidentally, does seem to have had ties to the imperial house (Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," p. 6).

10 ZZ 2B, 19, 5. For a summary of the contents see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, pp. 70–76.

11 Kamata Shigeo, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 282; Jeffrey Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings*, p. 10, note 21.

12 For a description of the political background to the composition of the *Li-tai fapao chi*, see Yanagida, "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi*," pp. 20 ff.

13 The followers of Kim Ho-shang, however, rejected Pao-t'ang claims to orthodoxy (see note 5 above).

14 Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, pp. 70–76; Yanagida, "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi*," p. 16.

15 Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," pp. 9–10.

16 For a photocopy reproduction of the extant portions of the *Pao-lin chuan* (consisiting of *chüan* 1–5 and 8, discovered in China in 1933, and *chüan* 6, discovered in Kyoto in 1932), see Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sung zō ichin Hōrinden*. For a summary of the contents see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, pp. 47–52.

17 The issue of the patronage received by Pai-chang and other leading figures in the Hung-chou school is touched on in Chapter Seven, under the heading "The Ideals of Communal Labor and Self-sufficiency."

18 Sekiguchi Shindai, "Zenshū no hassei," pp. 321–339.

19 Idem, *Zenshū shishō shi*, pp. 189–238.

20 Idem, *Daruma no kenkyū*, pp. 325–364.

21 Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, pp. 437–460.

22 T 50 (no. 2060), pp. 563c–564a, 512c, 614b. All of these occurrences of the term *ch'an-tsung* are cited in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, pp. 447–448; Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 325, cites occurrences in T 50, pp. 564a, 599c.

23 Tao-hsüan refers to dhyāna specialists gathered under Hui-ssu as *ch'an-tsung* in his biography of Hui-ssu (T 50 [no. 2060], p. 564a).

24 Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 328; Yanagida and others challenge the association of Bodhidharma with the *Lan-*

kāvatāra as a later interpolation.

25 Shiina Kōyū, "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," pp. 173-175; Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 329; Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 3, note 3.

26 Suzuki Tetsuo, "Nanshū tōshi no shuchō," pp. 77-79.

27 Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," pp. 331-332; idem, "Nanshū to nanshū zen"; also see Yanagida's remarks on Shen-hui's identification of Bodhidharma with Dharmatrāta in "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi*," p. 27; also Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, pp. 117-125 for a discussion of the derivation of term "Southern lineage."

28 However the expression *ch'an-men* (literally "*ch'an* gate"), which by the Sung had come to be used synonomously with *ch'an-tsung* to indicate the Ch'an lineage, does occur in both texts.

29 As we know from the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, the Pao-t'ang school also identified its approach to Buddhist practice as the "Mahāyāna *ch'an* gate of sudden enlightenment" (Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* II, p. 315).

30 Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 333-337.

31 T 48 (no. 2015), p. 401b (cited in Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 334).

32 T 48 (no. 2012A), p. 382c (cited in "Zenshū no hassei," p. 337). See Iriya Yoshitaka, ed, *Denshin hōyō* for a critical edition and annotated Japanese translation of the *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* (the reference to *ch'an-tsung* appears p. 60); see John Blofeld, trans., *The Zen Teaching of Huang-po*, for an English translation (the reference to *ch'an-tsung* appears p. 54).

33 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 454.

34 Ibid, p. 455.

35 T 51 (no. 2076), p. 244b (cited in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 455).

36 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 455.

37 T 46, no. 1912, p. 184c (cited in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 456).

38 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 456; the original text is given on p. 460, note 26.

39 Ibid.

40 Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, p. 96; for examples, see Broughton, pp. 147, 264; also Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, pp. 86, 147.

41 The edition of the recorded sayings of Ma-tsu cited by Yanagida (see note 38 above), for example, is found in the *Ch'ung-k'o ku-tsun-su yü-lu*, compiled by Chüeh-hsin in 1267. Huang-po's *Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao* was probably fixed in its present form when it was included in the Fu-chou edition of the canon

(compiled 1112-1172), but the oldest extant edition dates from 1283 (*Zengaku daijiten*, 2:894d, s.v. *denshin hōyō*).

42 ZZ 2-23, p. 81a; also Iriya Yoshitaka, ed., *Baso no goroku*, p. 103.

43 ZZ 2-23, p. 85a.

44 Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sodōshū*, p. 61a (1.121); T 51 (no. 2076), p. 244b; the latter text reads: "Those who cultivate *ch'an* realization (*ch'an-tsung hsüeh-che*) must accord with the words of the Buddha, thoroughly comprehend the principle of the One Vehicle, and unite with the source of their own minds."

45 T 46 (no. 1912), p. 184c.

46 P 4646, folio 127b; the passage in question mentions "the sudden enlightenment *ch'an* realization (*tun-wu ch'an-tsung*) that is taught by the Chinese monks." Ibid., folio 143b; the passage speaks of "the essential principle (*tsung*) of my practice of dhyāna (*hsi-ch'an*)."

47 S 4478; the text is included in Yanagida, ed., *Hōrinden*, pp. 11-14. *Chüan* 2 of the *Pao-lin chuan* was reconstructed on the basis of the *Sheng-chou chi*.

48 Yanagida, ed., *Hōrinden*, p. 12.

49 Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 324-325.

50 Ibid, p. 324; T 50 (no. 2060), p. 666b.

51 Ibid, p. 324; T 50 (no. 2060), p. 551c.

52 Ibid, p. 325.

53 Yanagida, ed., *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 447-448.

54 See note 22 above.

55 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 449.

56 Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* I, pp. 248-9, 255-6; for English translations see David W. Chappell, "The Teachings of the Fourth Ch'an Patriarch Tao-hsin (580-651)," pp. 117-119; also J.C. Cleary, *Zen Dawn*, pp. 61-63.

57 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 450.

58 Ibid, p. 450; T 9 (no. 273), p. 368a.

59 Ibid; T 9 (no. 0273), p. 370a.

60 Ibid; T 85 (no. 2901), p. 1435a.

61 Ibid, p. 458, note 13; T 48 (no. 2009, p. 370c).

62 Hirano Sōjō, ed., *Tongo yōmon*, p. 2.

63 ZZ 2-15, p. 420d; Hirano, *Tongo yōmon*, p. 12; cited by Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, pp. 458-9.

64 T 85 (no. 2837), p. 1289a; Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi*, pp. 255-6; Chappell, p. 119.

65 T 85 (no. 2837), p. 1288c; Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no*

zenshi, pp. 248-9; Chappell, p. 117.

66 T 85 (no. 2837), p. 1286c; Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* I, p. 186; Chappell, p. 107.

67 T 85 (no. 2837), p. 1287a; Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi*, p. 192; Chappell, p. 108.

68 See, for example, Chappell, p. 90-91; 101-102.

69 See E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 219-223 for a discussion of dhyāna practice in the cult of Amitābha in the early fifth century.

70 Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 8, section 19 in Chinese text (my translation).

71 Ibid, p. 135.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid, p. 1, section 2 in Chinese text (my translation).

74 Ibid, p. 181.

75 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 452.

76 Ibid.

77 Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China," p. 7.

78 Hu Shih, ed., *Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi*, p. 145; cited in Yanagida, pp. 451-2.

79 ZZ 2B-19, p. 484d; cited in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 452.

80 This passage was based on the *Lankāvatara-sūtra*, and was also cited in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (Iriya, ed., *Baso no goroku*, p. 45).

81 ZZ 2-24, p. 407a; cited in Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho*, p. 452.

82 Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 34.

83 See my translation of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in Chapter Eight.

84 The disciple in question is Ta-chu Hui-hai (n.d.); the traditional attribution of the *Tun-wu yao-men* to him (or any follower of Ma-tsu's Hung-chou school) is open to question; see Hirano, ed., *Tongo yōmon*, pp. 2-3, 215-219.

85 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279d-280a; for an English translation see Jan Yüan-hua, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," p. 49-50.

86 See p. 54 above.

87 T 46 (no. 1919).

88 Sekiguchi, "Zenshū no hassei," p. 333.

89 T 50 (no. 2060), p. 557a, line 28.

90 Mizuno Kōgen, "Zenshū seiritsu izen no shina no zenjō shisōshi josetsu," pp. 19–28.

91 See the discussion of these texts on pp. 116–117 above.

92 S 5532; P 4646. An edition of this text may be found in Yanagida Seizan, "Zenmon kyō ni tsuite," in *Tsukamoto hakushi juju kinen bukkyōshi gaku ronshū*.

93 The text says that "Not keeping any dharmas in mind is called dhyāna (see p. 117–118 above).

94 Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* I, p. 186.

95 Ibid, p. 320.

96 T 55 (no. 2170), p. 1093a.

97 The *Chuan fa-pao chi*, the oldest of the "Northern school" lamp histories presents the seven generations of ancestors in China as: (1) Bodhidharma, (2) Hui-k'o, (3) Seng-ts'an, (4) Tao-hsin, (5) Hung-jen, (6) Fa-ju, and (7) Shen-hsiu. The *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* presents the seven as: (1) Gunabhadra, (2) Bodhidharma, (3) Hui-k'o, (4) Seng-ts'an, (5) Tao-hsin, (6) Hung-jen, and (7) Shen-hsiu.

98 This phrase is used in the title of one of Shen-hui's early works attacking the doctrines of the Northern school, the *Nan-yang ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing t'an-yü*; P 2045 (2); see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, pp. 24–25, note 67 for a list of editions of this text.

99 Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* II, p. 315–316.

100 Ibid.

101 T 55 (no. 2159), pp. 1055c–1056a.

102 ZZ 2-15-5, p. 434b, line 12. See Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 295.

103 *Dai nippon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp. 178a: the *ch'an-men-tsung* is contrasted with the *t'ien-t'ai tsung* in this passage. Meditation practitioners in general are called *ch'an-shih* by Ennin (ibid, p. 181a). For a complete English translation of the passage I cite, see Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*, p. 236.

104 Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 203; Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, p. 92.

105 The following is a summary of the five types of *ch'an* outlined by Tsung-mi in his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü* (Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 23; Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, pp. 92–95).

106 The various meanings of the term *i-hsing san-mei* in the many classical contexts where it appears have been the subject of considerable debate among scholars; see, for example, Kobayashi Enshō, "Ichigyō zanmai shikō," in *Zengaku kenkyū*, 51

(Feb., 1961), pp. 176-186; Yanagida Seizan, *Mu no tankyū*, pp. 99 ff.; Yamplosky, *the Platform Sutra*, p. 136; Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, p. 93, note 5; Yoshito H. Takeda, trans., *The Awakening of Faith*, p. 115, note 52.

107 In the final analysis, of course, it is impossible to maintain a clear distinction between the techniques of dhyāna practice and the doctrines that guide it, since meditation is a singularly mental sort of activity in which the intentions or mode of understanding with which one starts are an integral part of one's "technique." This difficulty does not invalidate Tsung-mi's position, however, which is precisely that understanding makes all the difference in the type of meditation being performed.

108 Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 87; Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsungi-mi*, p. 147-8.

109 Ibid; (my translation).

110 Kamata, p. 48; Broughton, p. 115.

111 The following account is based on Kamata, pp. 48-49; Broughton, p. 115-117.

112 Kamata, p. 286.

113 Ibid, p. 286; ZZ 1-14-3 p. 279a.

114 Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 36. The *Sung kao-seng chuan* reports that a "meditation sanctuary" (*ch'an-yü*) was built by imperial order for Shen-hui within the precincts of the Ho-tse-ssu following his great fund-raising contributions (T 48 [no. 2061], p. 757a, lines 8-9).

115 Kamata, pp. 51, 282.

116 Kamata p. 276; ZZ 1-14-3, p. 277c.

117 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 278b.

118 This account is found in Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan*; T 50 (no. 2060), p. 603c. lines 26-27.

119 Kamata, p. 270; ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279b.

120 *Zengaku daijiten*, 1:201b, s.v. *kisen*.

121 Kamata, pp. 48, 91.

122 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 278d.

123 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279c; Kamata, p. 289, p. 52 note.

124 Kamata, p. 87.

125 Jan Yün-hua, "Seng-ch'ou's method of *Dhyāna*," pp. 57-58.

126 Ibid, p. 54, note 13.

127 Mizuno, "Zenshū seiritsu izen no shina no zenjō shisōshi josetsu, pp. 31-38 passim; John McRae, *The Northern School of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale Uni-

versity), pp. 25-26; Leon Hurvitz, *Chih-i*, p. 115.

128 Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 274.

129 Kamata, p. 267; ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279d.

130 Kamata, p. 282; Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, p. 110.

131 Kamata, pp. 270, 274, 286.

132 Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* II, pp. 15-17; idem., "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi*," pp. 31-35; Kamata, p. 287.

133 Kamata p. 49. In his *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu*, Tsung-mi referred to the famous metaphor of the blind men who had one-sided, conflicting opinions of what an elephant is (since they each touched a different part of its body) in order to describe how the doctrines of different branches of the Ch'an lineage related to each other and to ultimate truth (ZZ 2, 14, 2, p. 119c; cited by Jan, "Tsung-mi," p. 41).

134 Kamata, p. 156, 173-4.

135 Kamata, p. 282.

136 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279a.

137 Kamata, p. 16-17. My translation is indebted in some places to that of Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, pp. 88-89.

138 Kamata, p. 13.

139 See Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 137. Earlier precedents for the identification of prajñā and dhyāna in the single practice of calm and insight (*chih-kuan*) is found in the *Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun* (T 32 [no. 1666], p. 581c, line 14 ff.) and in the writings of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i; see Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith*, pp. 93-95.

140 Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, p. 21.

141 Yanagida, ed., *Shoki no zenshi* II, p. 316.

142 Yanagida, "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi*," pp. 20-21, 32-35.

143 Kamata, ed., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, pp. 340-341.

144 Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism," p. 305.

145 Ibid, p. 267.

146 "Introduction," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds. *Perspectives on the T'ang*, p. 21.

147 Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*, pp. 237-243, 253-257; Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p. 230-233; Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku no zenshūshi," pp. 66-67.

148 Yanagida Seizan, "Tō matsu godai no kahoku chihō ni okeru zenshū no rekishiteki shakaiteki jijō ni tsuite," pp. 171-186; Reischauer, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*, p. 270.

149 Yanagida, "Chūgoku no zenshūshi," pp. 68-70;

Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsun-mi*, pp. 35.

150 Yanagida, ibid., p. 69.

151 Ibid, p. 80.

152 Yanagida, ed., *Sodōshū*; for other editions see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 51, note 177.

153 Ching (n.d.) and Yün (n.d.) by name. Both were disciples of Fu-hsien Wen-teng ((n.d.), who wrote a preface for the *Tsu-t'ang chi*. Wen-teng was a disciple of Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan (867-928), who in turn was a disciple of Hsüeh-feng. See Yanagida, ed., *Sodōshū*, p. 1.

154 Ibid, p. 1. For a history of this area during the Five Dynasties see Edward H. Schafer, *The Empire of Min*; at the end of his section on Buddhism (pp. 91-96), Schafer notes that "it is clear that Fukien was an important center of the Zen sect in this period."

155 Yanagida, ed., *Sodōshū*, p. 1.

156 See pp. 49-50 above.

157 It is possible that the text was taken to Korea by sea, since the port cities of Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou were centers of overseas trade.

CHAPTER V

MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF THE CH'AN SCHOOL

In the previous chapters I have pointed out that the modern study of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" took as its starting point the conception of the Ch'an lineage found in the Sung lamp histories. I have tried to show that the Sung understanding of the Ch'an lineage, while it drew on earlier formulations of a Dharma lineage deriving from Bodhidharma and did not present any revolutionary ideas, nevertheless represented a new conceptual synthesis that met the needs of the Buddhist order and the state. I have further argued that the Sung conception of the Ch'an lineage was essentially an ideological construction that had little basis in the actual arrangement of nominally "Ch'an" monastic institutions, or in uniquely "Ch'an" doctrines or modes of religious practice.

It remains in this, the final chapter of Part One, to examine and evaluate the ways in which modern scholarship has tried to free itself from dependence on the Sung historiography and arrive at an understanding of the early Ch'an school that is based on something more solid than the traditional genealogies handed down in the Sung lamp histories. To this end, I shall first remark on the scope of the historical phenomena -- texts, persons, religious practices, etc. -- that modern scholars are wont to subsume under the rubric "Ch'an school" (*ch'an-tsung*, *zenshū*). My aim is to bring to light the criteria and assumptions that are implicit in such classifications. I shall then trace the development of the modern "history of the Ch'an school," and examine the various approaches that scholars have taken in attempting, more or less explicitly, to define the

"Ch'an school" in an objective fashion, without relying on the traditional concept of Dharma inheritance. As I stressed in the General Introduction, "Dharma inheritance" is a quasi-historical phenomenon that must be treated by the critical historian as a religious belief or symbol; it is not a phenomenon on the order of historical events that can be demonstrated or disproven by objective evidence. To the extent that the Ch'an school is still defined as the group of persons through whom Bodhidharma's Dharma was transmitted, it is in fact a mythological entity and should be studied as such.

At the end of the chapter I shall introduce my own functional definition of the Ch'an school, which is intended to provide an unambiguous frame of reference for the investigation of early Ch'an institutions that follows in Part Two.

The Scope of the Modern "History of the Ch'an School"

The modern, critical study of the "history of the Ch'an school" (*ch'an-tsung shih*; *zenshū shi*) has been, since about 1930, increasingly devoted to the tasks of digging out, analyzing and assimilating the wealth of historical evidence found in Tun-huang manuscripts and a few other rediscovered texts (such as the *Pao-lin chuan* and *Tsu-t'ang chi*). Prior to the discovery of these materials, we have noted, the most important sources for the "history of the Ch'an lineage" in the T'ang and earlier were the Sung lamp histories and "recorded sayings" collections. The totality of historical materials that scholars today deem relevant to the "history of the Ch'an lineage" in the T'ang can be divided into two general categories: (1) sources that the Sung Ch'an school preserved and handed down as relevant to (and definitive of) its own tradition, and (2) sources recently discovered in Tun-huang and elsewhere that modern scholars have seen fit to include alongside the traditional Ch'an historiography.

Now, it is certainly not the case that all of the Tun-huang manuscripts identified as Buddhist texts have also been deemed relevant to the "history of the Ch'an lineage." Of a total of

some 40,000 distinct documents found in Tun-huang (including those written in Tibetan, Sanskrit, Uigur, Sogdian, Khotanese, etc.), the great majority are in Chinese; among the Chinese documents, 87.5% are considered Buddhist in content; and among all the Chinese and Tibetan documents, there are some 300 items comprising approximately 100 separate texts (some texts survive in multiple recensions or fragments) that have been identified as "documents pertaining to the Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū bunken*) or "histories of the Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū shisho*).[1] A question that arises, then, is what criteria have been used by modern scholars to determine if a given Tun-huang text pertains to the study of the Ch'an lineage?

It will be helpful to approach this question by looking first at a work of early modern Japanese scholarship that assayed a comprehensive treatment of the source materials and research methods relevant to the study of the history of Ch'an, but was written too early to take note of any of the Tun-huang documents that were soon to revolutionize the field. The work I am referring to, *Zengaku kenkyūhō to sono shiryō* (*Research Methods and Materials for the Study of Zen*), was completed in 1930 by Okada Gihō.[2] Although it is the product of a single scholar who was affiliated with the Sōtō school of Japanese Zen, we may view the book as fairly representative of the scope of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" as that field was understood by Japanese academics in the period following the adoption of Western critical methods but prior to the reevaluation that was stimulated by the Tun-huang materials.[3] A comparison of Okada's work with a recent categorization of Tun-huang "Ch'an" materials by Tanaka Ryōshō will then give us a sense of how the scope of the field has changed.

Okada Gihō organized his presentation of source materials pertinent to Ch'an studies by dividing them into two broad categories: (1) materials for the study of history and biography, and (2) materials for the study of doctrine. In the first category he included all the works from the Sung and succeeding dynasties that belong to what we now call the genre of Ch'an

"lamp histories." The only pre-Sung Ch'an lamp history known to him was the *Pao-lin chuan*, although his knowledge of its contents was limited to accounts of the text found in Sung works such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* and *Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi*: no parts of the *Pao-lin chuan* proper had yet been discovered in 1930. Okada also included in the first category many other (not exclusively "Ch'an") Buddhist histories, such as Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, Tsan-ning's *Sung kao-seng chuan* and *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh*, Chih-p'an's *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*, etc.[4] Some of the latter sources, due either to the quasi-denominational affiliations of their authors or to the nature of their contents, had traditionally been labeled as "T'ien-t'ai" or "Vinaya" school texts.[5] Okada's rationale for regarding such works as sources for the history of Ch'an was that they either mention the Ch'an lineage explicitly (as is the case with many of the "non-Ch'an" Buddhist histories dating from the Sung and later), or that they contain biographical information on figures who are identified elsewhere (in the Sung Ch'an lamp histories) as Ch'an ancestral teachers. By accepting "non-Ch'an" works as valid sources, Okada and many of his contemporaries broke out of the rather self-absorbed posture that had characterized much of the traditional Ch'an and Zen historiography, and moved in the direction of a more critical methodology. Nevertheless, the traditional conception of the Ch'an lineage was still the touchstone for determining which "non-Ch'an" works were pertinent to the study of that lineage.

In his discussion of how the various historical and biographical sources should be utilized, Okada argued that the study of Ch'an in China must be preceded by research on "Indian Ch'an" (*Indo zen*) in general, and biographical study of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni in particular.[6] Such a suggestion would no doubt strike most researchers in the field today as absurd, but we must remember that before the Tun-huang lamp histories came to light, many scholars were still operating on the presupposition that the "Ch'an lineage" was transmitted to China by Bodhidharma, and that it had been "founded" (literal-

ly, or perhaps only figuratively) in India by the Buddha himself. Okada, moreover, explicitly stated that one of the primary goals of research on the history of Ch'an in India was to demonstrate that Śākyamuni's enlightenment was "attained through the practice of dhyāna (*zenjō*)," and that the "heart of the Buddha's doctrine (*shisō*) was also dhyāna."[7] Here we see a rather stark example of the sort of bias that, to a greater or lesser degree, was operative in much of early modern Japanese scholarship on the history of Ch'an. The task of the historian as Okada saw it was not simply to explore the origins of the Ch'an lineage and its teachings; it was to prove, using the "rational" (*gōriteki*) methods of modern historiography, that the claims of the Ch'an and Zen tradition to represent the true teachings of Śākyamuni had a basis in historical fact. Thus Okada included all of the classical Chinese texts he knew that contained biographical information on the Buddha (and all contemporary Japanese studies on the historical Buddha as well) as important sources for the study of the history of Ch'an. Again, such an approach now seems not only biased, but almost laughably naive, given what many scholars today consider the futility of trying to reconstruct Buddhism in its "original" form, and what we also know about the formation of the myth of the Indian Ch'an lineage. It is tempting to simply dismiss Okada's approach as the discredited product of a bygone era in Ch'an studies. However, as we shall see in this chapter, many of Okada's assumptions and methods are still shared by scholars today.

Under the general heading of materials for the study of Ch'an doctrine (*zen kyōri*), Okada included: (1) "Ch'an-like" sūtras (*zenteki kyōten*); (2) sources which expound various Ch'an formulae for *p'an chiao* or "dividing the teachings" (*zenteki kyōhan*); (3) the records of Ch'an ancestral teachers (*soroku, tsu-lu*); (4) Ch'an monastic codes (*shingi, ch'ing-kuei*); (5) sources pertaining to Ch'an precepts (*zenkai, ch'an-chiai*); (6) sources pertaining to Dharma transmission (*denbō, ch'uan-fa*); and (7) sources pertaining to the relationship between Ch'an and Pure land. A brief examination of the kinds of mate-

rials subsumed under each of these headings will enable us to bring Okada's criteria for determining what was relevant to Ch'an studies, and hence his conception of Ch'an itself, into sharper focus.

Okada's list of "Ch'an-like sūtras" included a wide variety of texts that fall into three general categories: (1) the Āgamas, which he treated in their Chinese translations; (2) the so-called "dhyāna sutras" (*zenkyō*, *ch'an-ching*) that were translated into Chinese (or composed in China and presented as translations) by such figures as An-shih-kao (flourished 2nd century A.D.), Kumārajīva (344-413), and Buddhabhadra (359-429); and (3) Mahāyāna sūtras. The Āgamas, Okada held, should be examined with an eye to discovering the presence in them of "Ch'an-like doctrines" (*zenteki shisō*).[8] But Okada never bothered to spell out what he meant by "Ch'an-like doctrines"; he simply took the modern Sōtō understanding of Ch'an for granted, and assumed that his readers shared that understanding. Any given passage in the Āgamas was considered relevant to the history of Ch'an if it contained ideas that seemed to prefigure the teachings of Dōgen or some other ancestral teacher in the Ch'an and Zen lineage.[9]

In keeping with an understanding that was (and still is) shared by most Japanese Zen Buddhists, Okada took the actual practice of dhyāna, especially seated dhyāna (*zazen*, *tso-ch'an*), as a fundamental characteristic of the Ch'an tradition. Thus he considered any texts in the Āgamas that dealt explicitly with the theory or practice of dhyāna as "Ch'an-like sūtras," and included the Chinese language "dhyāna sūtras" in the same category. Okada analyzed all such sources in accordance with whether they taught a "Hīnayāna" or "Mahāyāna" form of dhyāna (*zen*, *ch'an*), the former being characterized by the contemplation of breathing, impurity, the four *brahmavihāras*, conditioned co-production, etc., and the latter by the contemplation of the emptiness, formlessness, and unproduced nature of dharmas. Okada held that although the dhyāna taught in the Ch'an lineage was essentially a derivation of the "Mahāyāna"

type, the evolution of the Ch'an approach could only be appreciated against the background of the broader tradition of dhyāna practice in Buddhism.

As with the Āgamas, Okada held that any Mahāyāna sūtra that displayed "Ch'an-like doctrines" was relevant to the history of Ch'an. Two other factors he took into account when considering the Mahāyāna sūtras as potential sources were the frequent quotation of a given sūtra by "Ch'annists" (*zensha* -- members of the Ch'an lineage as presented in the Sung lamp histories), and the putative reliance of certain Ch'an lineage ancestors on a particular sūtra, such as Bodhidharma's reliance on the Lankāvatāra Sūtra as reported in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*. Okada's thinking here was based on the assumption that the Ch'an lineage was a concrete institutional entity with a well defined membership: if a prominent member of the Ch'an organization made use of a particular sūtra sometime in the past, he reasoned, then the sūtra is relevant to the history of Ch'an. Okada saw fit, on the basis of these criteria, to include many of the most influential Mahāyāna sūtras in Far Eastern Buddhism on his list of "Ch'an-like" texts: the *Prajñāpāramitā* class of sūtras, as well as the Vimalakīrti, Lotus, Avataṃsaka, Nirvāṇa, Lankāvatāra, and Śūraṃgama sūtras.

In sum, there were three basic criteria that Okada used to identify "Ch'an-like sūtras": (1) the presence in a text of characteristically "Ch'an" doctrines, (2) the explicit treatment in a text of the theory or actual practice of dhyāna, and (3) the historical association of a text with members of the Ch'an lineage. Although Okada never offered an explicit definition of Ch'an (he simply used the terms *zen* and *zenshū* as though their meaning was self-evident), it is clear that he regarded Ch'an -- more or less consciously -- as something that could be distinguished on the basis of certain characteristic doctrines, modes of practice, and lines of Dharma inheritance.

Okada named the following as sources for the study of Ch'an *p'an-chiao* formulae: a number of works (beginning with Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*) that dealt with the dis-

tinction between Ch'an and the "teachings" (*chiao*); works that made distinctions between different types of dhyāna (e.g. Tsung-mi's five types);[10] works that deal with the relationship between Ch'an, Taoism, and Confucianism (or the "unity of the three doctrines" -- Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism); works that discuss the relationship between Ch'an and Pure Land teachings; works that treat the differences between the "five houses and seven lineages" of Ch'an; works that pertain to such doctrinal formulations as Lin-ch'i's "four selections [of subject and object]" (*ssu liao-chien*) or Tung-shan's "five ranks" (*wu-wei*); and works that deal with the relationship between Buddhist sūtras and Ch'an. In every case, the classical Chinese sources cited by Okada in this connection were written by persons who regarded themselves, or were accepted by the tradition, as part of the Ch'an lineage. These sources, it could be said, shed light on the various ways in which Ch'annists, mostly in the Sung and later, struggled to explain the great diversity in their tradition (which was nominally unified), and tried to locate that tradition (which was nominally independent) in relation to other schools of Buddhism, to Buddhism as a whole, and to Confucianism and Taoism.

Okada's basic criterion for identifying sources pertinent to the study of Ch'an *p'an-chiao* theories was simply authorship by a member of the Ch'an lineage. This tells us nothing new about his conception of Ch'an. However, in remarking on the nature of the Ch'an approach to *p'an-chiao*, Okada allowed that Ch'an represents the "practice oriented branch" (*jissen ha*) of Buddhism, and that its formulae for synthesizing and unifying Buddhist doctrines were based on "experiential" (*taikenteki*) rather than merely philosophical principles. The notion that Ch'an is distinguishable from other schools of Far Eastern Buddhism such as T'ien-t'ai or Hua-yen by virtue of its orientation to actual practice and experience as opposed to doctrine and theory is a conceit that has long been harbored by partisans of the Ch'an lineage.[11] The "experience" to which the Ch'an and Zen tradition has layed special claim, of course, is

nothing other than enlightenment itself -- the "Buddha mind" (*fo-hsin*) which is said to have been transmitted down through the line of ancestral teachers.

Okada's discussion of the records of Ch'an ancestral teachers as sources for the history of Ch'an is unremarkable in most respects, but there is one significant observation that can be made about it. Although Okada realized the importance of critically evaluating the traditional attribution of various texts to Bodhidharma and other figures in the Ch'an lineage, it never occurred to him to question Bodhidharma's identity as a Ch'an ancestor. Any text that could stand the test of critical evaluation and still be attributed to Bodhidharma, therefore, was ipso facto an important Ch'an record in Okada's eyes, regardless of whether its doctrinal content bore any similarity to other Ch'an records. Thus, even if a work generally accepted as belonging to Bodhidharma (the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*, for example) were shown to be largely unrelated thematically to the records of a later Ch'an ancestor, Okada would have tried to explain how the one grew out of the other, or how they represented different expressions of the same fundamental insight. The direct historical connection between Bodhidharma and all of the later Ch'an ancestors was a given: it could not be challenged on the basis of evidence internal to the records under investigation. Okada's rigid adherence to this stance is understandable, perhaps, considering the relative unanimity of the Sung accounts of the development of the Ch'an lineage from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng. More surprising is the fact that most Japanese scholars have since continued to accept the association of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen with an early "Ch'an lineage" as a given, despite the preponderance of evidence deriving from the Tung-huang lamp histories which suggests that the lineage was cooked up retrospectively around the turn of the eighth century.

One other point worth mentioning in connection with Okada's treatment of the Ch'an "ancestral records" is his observation that kōan (*kung-an*) collections (the oldest of which dates from

the Sung) represent a unique genre that cannot be found in Buddhism at large.[12] Here we find the suggestion (although Okada does not develop the idea explicitly) that the composition of a certain distinctive type of literature might be considered a defining characteristic of the Ch'an school. As we shall see later in this chapter, Yanagida, Sekiguchi, and other scholars take a similar approach by positing the compilation of the "recorded sayings" (*yü-lu*) literature as one important criterion for determining the point at which the Ch'an lineage emerged as a fully independent sect.

In his discussion of Ch'an monastic codes and sources pertaining to Ch'an precepts, Okada took a position that is also still held by many Japanese scholars today. He asserted that the rules and ritual procedures (*gyōji*) found in Ch'an monastic codes represent an "expression in external forms" (*keishikika*), or a "concrete embodiment" (*gutaika*), of Ch'an teachings and principles (*zen kyōri*).[13] Similarly, he described the so-called Ch'an precepts as a "manifestation in actual practice" (*jissaika*) of Ch'an principles (*zen kyōri*).[14] The basic concept underlying these statements is that there are noumenal principles (*kyōri*) of Ch'an which exist in some way independent of and prior to their phenomenal manifestation in Ch'an rules and ritual procedures (*gyōji*).[15] As we shall see in Chapter Seven, much of the speculation that scholars have engaged in concerning the contents of the lost "Pai-chang Code" is based on the notion that the concrete details of T'ang Ch'an monastic discipline (which are nowhere described in any extant T'ang sources) can be reliably inferred from certain abstract principles that are discoverable in the teachings of T'ang Ch'an masters. The assumption, in other words, is that an intuition of the noumenal ground from which the phenomema of concrete Ch'an rules and ritual procedures presumably arose is sufficient basis for an historical reconstruction of the specifics of those rules and procedures.

In analyzing the research methods that are applicable to the study of Ch'an monastic codes, Okada outlined two basic

approaches. The first, which he called the "historical research method" (*rekishiteki kenkyū hō*), involves the diachronic comparison of the various extant codes in order to determine trends and developments in the evolution of Ch'an monasticism.[16] This approach, we shall see in Chapter Seven, is one that has since been taken by a number of scholars working on the Sung and Yüan monastic codes. The other approach outlined by Okada was that of "classificatory study" (*bunruiteki kenkyū*).[17] This involves the synchronic comparison of the various codes in order to classify them in accordance with the types of rules and procedures they contain. Obviously, a careful classification of the texts that fall under the general rubric of "monastic codes" (*shingi, ch'ing-kuei*) should be a prerequisite for the sort of diachronic comparison just described, lest one end up comparing thursday's apples with friday's oranges. Unfortunately, some recent studies which discover trends such as an "increasing aristocratization" or an "increase in ritual" in Ch'an monasticism between the Northern Sung and the Yüan are based on the diachronic comparison of fundamentally incomparable texts.[18] This is one case where scholars working today could benefit by adopting Okada's methodology, as dated as it is in other respects.

Okada's treatment of sources pertaining to Dharma transmission is largely irrelevant to this study because he focused on the development in Japan (from Dōgen on) of the ritual procedures for Dharma transmission employed in the modern Sōtō school. The sources he introduced were mostly the writings of Tokugawa period Sōtō monk scholars. Okada's attitude toward the academic study of Dharma transmission is worth noting, however, because it is still shared by many Japanese scholars today. A serious obstacle to the study of the history of the Dharma transmission ritual, Okada felt, was the fact that the ritual is secret and sacred: the procedures and texts involved, and their esoteric meaning, are revealed only to those who actually go through the ritual and formally receive Dharma transmission.[19] The initiated, of course, then have access to the basic

research materials, but when it comes to publishing their findings, they must be careful not to reveal secret information, and especially careful not to "defile the sacred mystery of Dharma transmission."[20] A belief in the sacredness of Dharma transmission (or rather, the sacredness of Śākyamuni's enlightenment, which is vouchsafed from master to disciple) has in fact been a source of considerable inhibition among Japanese scholars, not only in dealing with the transmission rituals of the modern Zen schools, but also in critically examining the role played by the concept of Dharma transmission in the history of Ch'an and Zen.

The last of the materials that Okada included under the general heading of sources for the study of Ch'an doctrine were sources pertaining to the relationship between Ch'an and Pure Land. Beginning with the second century translator An Shih-kao, Okada made note of a long list of Buddhist historical figures and writings in which there was evidence of a "mixture" or "confusion" (*konkō*) of Ch'an and Pure land elements.[21] Okada was right in pointing out that evidence of this "mixture" can be found in Chinese Buddhism from the very earliest of times, and that it was not merely an aberration or degeneration that occurred in China after the transmission of Zen to Japan in the thirteenth century (as many Japanese Zennists have argued since the Tokugawa period, when the Sōtō and Rinzai schools were threatened by the importation of late Ming style "syncretic" Ch'an).[22] However, Okada was as firm in his belief in the existence of a well-defined Chinese "Pure Land lineage" (*jōdoshū*; *ching-t'u tsung*) stemming from Hui-yüan and Shan-tao (613-681) as he was in his unquestioning acceptance of a "Ch'an lineage" stemming from Bodhidharma. Apparently it never occurred to him that the concept of a "Pure land lineage" might have been a later formulation, and that what appears in early sources to be a "mixing" of Ch'an and Pure Land elements might be simply reflect a state of affairs in Chinese Buddhism that predated any awareness of "Ch'an" or "Pure Land" as distinct, opposing traditions. The tendency to read denominational divisions that

have a concrete institutional basis in Japan back into the history of Buddhism in China is one which has colored a great deal of Japanese scholarship from Okada's day down to the present.

The scope of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" as it is understood by scholars today has changed somewhat since Okada surveyed the field in his *Zengaku kenkyūhō to sono shiryō*, largely as a result of the recognition and study of Tun-huang "Ch'an" documents. It is noteworthy that despite this change, most of the sources listed by Okada as pertinent to the field are still regarded as relevant today. The exceptions are the sources relating to "Indian Ch'an" and the biography of Śākyamuni, and those portions of the Āgamas which Okada deemed "Ch'an-like" in their doctrinal outlook. When the comparative study of Tun-huang lamp histories exposed the traditional account of the Ch'an lineage from Śākyamuni to Bodhidharma as a pure fabrication, historians no longer felt compelled to look for "Ch'an-like" tendencies in the life and teachings of the historical Buddha.

Indeed, even before the contents of the Tung-huang lamp histories came to light, there were some scholars who dismissed the need for the study of the Ch'an lineage in India. In 1927, for example, D.T. Suzuki acknowledged the mythological nature of the lineage in the generations preceding Bodhidharma, and stated that "from the historian's point of view, which tries scientifically to ascertain the source of development resulting in Zen Buddhism, it is only important to find a logical connection between the Mahāyāna Doctrine of Enlightenment in India and its practical application by the Chinese to the actualities of life; and as to any special line of transmission in India before Bodhidharma as was established by the Zen devotees, it is not a matter of much concern nor of great importance."[23] The idea that it is fruitful to look for precedents to Ch'an teachings in Indian Mahāyāna sūtras remains current to this day, but not all scholars agree with Suzuki that the Indian roots of Ch'an are exclusively doctrinal in nature. As we have already seen, not only Okada but scholars such as Sekiguchi, Yanagida,

and Mizuno Kōgen have regarded the practice of dhyāna (as depicted in the so-called "dhyāna sūtras") as another area in which it is worth looking for some continuity of development between Indian Buddhism and Ch'an.[24]

Immediately following the remarks quoted above, Suzuki wrote:

> But as soon as Zen is formulated into an independent system, not only with its characteristic features but with its historically ascertainable facts, it will be necessary for the historians to trace its line of transmission complete and not interrupted; for in Zen, as we shall see later, it is of the utmost importance for its followers to be duly certified or approved (*abbhanumodana*) by the master as to the genuineness or orthodox character of their realization.[25]

When he wrote these words in 1927, Suzuki could scarcely have imagined just how earnestly and tenaciously historians in the coming decades (himself included) would have to struggle in their attempts to trace complete and uninterrupted lines of transmission between Bodhidharma and all of the other Ch'an ancestors named in the Sung lamp histories, and how their efforts would eventually meet with failure. One still finds genealogical charts in today's "histories of the Ch'an lineage," but in the aftermath of intensive comparative studies of the Sung and Tun-huang lamp histories, the Ch'an lineage as verified by modern scholarship appears as a number of disconnected threads. This being the case, we may well ask why the evidence of the Tun-huang lamp histories has not led scholars to rank the various versions of the post-Bodhidharma Ch'an lineage alongside the various versions of the Indian Ch'an lineage as examples of religious mythology. Why has it not convinced researchers to give up the idea of tracing the "correct" lines of Dharma transmission on the basis of concrete historical evidence? Suzuki's remarks quoted above suggest that, for some at least, the need to critically test and validate the Ch'an lineage was a "necessity" rooted in the Japanese Zen tradition's desire to preserve its religious authority, that is, its claim to transmit "genuine" and "orthodox" realization. That "neces-

sity" was not, in any case, inherent to the methods of critical historiography that Suzuki proposed to employ.

Again, my point is not that Suzuki and others who followed the approach of critically evaluating the traditional (i.e. Sung) accounts of the early Ch'an lineage were merely apologists for the Japanese Zen tradition, or that they employed the methods of modern historiography simply to lend an air of scientific legitimacy to their preformed religious beliefs. After all, in cases where the scientific evidence is manifestly at odds with the traditional accounts, the Zen historians have duly revised those accounts. The point I wish to make is that the approach taken by modern scholarship still reflects the concerns of the Zen tradition, even if the results of that scholarship do not fully meet the tradition's expectations.

Let us turn now to the question that was raised at the beginning of this section, namely: what are the criteria that modern scholars have used to determine which Tun-huang documents pertain to the "history of the Ch'an lineage"? I would like to address this question by focusing first on the initial haphazard discoveries of "Ch'an" texts among the Tun-huang documents, and secondly on a recent effort by Tanaka Ryōshō to organize Tun-huang Ch'an texts in a systematic fashion.

Following its chance discovery in 1900, the Tun-huang cache was soon divided and carried off by a succession of scholarly treasure hunters to museums and private collectors in London (1907 & 1914), Paris (1908), Peking (1910), Kyoto (1912), Leningrad (then Petrograd, 1915), and elsewhere in China and Japan.[26] The formidable difficulties of sorting out and cataloguing the Tun-huang documents were compounded at the outset by their division into widely separated collections. Not only geographical distance and the early absence of easy copying techniques, but also the world political situtation conspired until very recently to keep any one scholar or group of scholars from having access to all the Tun-huang documents.

In view of the obstacles that faced the early researchers of Tun-huang materials, it is not surprising that the initial

discoveries of texts pertinent to the "history of the Ch'an lineage" were extremely haphazard. Although Japanese scholars such as Matsumoto Bunsaburō worked on assaying the Tun-huang materials in Peking from as early as 1910, no "Ch'an" texts came to their attention. It was Yabuki Keiki (1879-1939), then a Jōdo school research fellow studying at the University of Manchester, who is credited with discovering the first Tun-huang "Ch'an" texts in the Stein collection at the British Museum in 1916.[27] Actually, what Yabuki did was to survey the collection, make copies (rotogravures) of some 132 documents that were not found in any editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon known to him, and present his findings in catalogue form to a gathering of scholars in Tokyo in the following year. Among the works copied by Yabuki, there were seven that Japanese scholars later identified as "Ch'an texts" (*zenseki*).[28] In his catalogue, however, Yabuki himself singled out only two works as probably belonging to the "Ch'an school" (*zenke*), and even those did not attract much scholarly attention at the time. Yabuki traveled to the British Museum again in 1922, and to Paris to examine the Pelliot collection, whereupon he returned to Japan with photographic reproductions of a large number of additional documents. Many of the texts copied by Yabuki on his two visits to Europe were published in 1930 under the title *Meisha yoin*, and in 1932, in volume 85 of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. In 1933, Yabuki published his *Meisha yoin kaisetsu*, in which he attempted to categorize and analyze the texts included in the *Meisha yoin*. It was in this commentarial volume, in a chapter entitled "Tun-huang Documents Related to the Ancient History of Ch'an in China and to Ancient Ch'an Texts" ("Tonkō shutsudo shina ko zenshi narabini ko zenseki kankei bunken ni tsuite"), that Yabuki first grouped a number of Tun-huang materials together as "Ch'an texts." Under the heading of "documents related to the ancient history of Ch'an," Yabuki discussed four texts in detail: (1) the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*,[29] (2) *Li-tai fa-pao chi*,[30] (3) *Ch'uan fa-pao chi ping-hsü*,[31] and (4) *Ch'üan-chou ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu-tsu-shih*

sung.[32] Under the heading of "ancient Ch'an texts," he discussed another five texts: (1) the *Wu-hsin lun*,[33] (2) *Tun-wu wu-sheng pan-jo sung*,[34] (3) *Ta-ch'eng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun*,[35] (4) *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men*,[36] and (5) *Kuan-hsin lun*.[37] This was the first major study of Tun-huang "Ch'an" texts, and it layed the groundwork for much of the research that was to follow.

Now, if we examine the criteria that Yabuki used to identify the aforementioned texts as sources for the early history of Ch'an, it is apparent that his conception of the field was basically the same as that held by partisan historians such as Suzuki and Okada. A "Ch'an" document was any work that contained biographies of an ancestral teacher of the Ch'an lineage (as presented in the Sung historiography), or any work attributable to such a Ch'an ancestor. The first set of four texts discussed by Yabuki belong to what scholars now call the "lamp history" genre.[38] As we have seen, the Tun-huang lamp histories did not refer to themselves as records of a "Ch'an lineage," but the striking similarity that they bore both in form and content to the Sung lamp histories led to their identification as "Ch'an" works.[39] The set of five documents identified by Yabuki as "ancient Ch'an texts" were classified as such for a number of reasons, the most significant of which seems to have been their association with the name of Bodhidharma. The manuscript of the *Wu-shin lun* (S 5619) bears a heading which attributes the text to Bodhidharma. The *Tun-wu wu-sheng pan-jo sung* was associated with Bodhidharma by virtue of its inclusion at the end of the same booklet of twelve folios (S 5619) that contains the *Wu-hsin lun*. The *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men*, of course, presents itself as the teachings of Ch'an master Bodhidharma (P'u-t'i-ta-mo). The *Kuan-hsin lun* was identified as Bodhidharma's work because a different recension of the same text appears in the *Shao-shih liu-men*, a collection (probably dating from the Sung) of six works traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma.[40] Finally, Yabuki speculated that the *Ta-ch'eng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-*

tsung lun must be a text belonging to "a branch of Southern Ch'an in the T'ang," presumably because in 1933 the doctrine of sudden enlightenment (*tun-wu*) was still associated exclusively with the so-called Southern school of Ch'an.[41]

In the more than fifty years that have elapsed since the publication of Yabuki's *Meisha yoin kaisetsu*, the authorship and denominational affiliation of the "ancient Ch'an texts" he introduced have been subject to a great deal of critical re-evaluation. Despite the attribution to Bodhidharma, the *Wu-hsin lun* --together with the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, another Tun-huang text that is similar to it in form and doctrinal content -- is now believed to be the work of N'iu-t'ou Fa-jung (594-657) or one of his followers in the Ox-head school.[42] The *Tun-wu wu-sheng pan-jo sung* is now recognized as an earlier redaction of Shen-hui's *Hsien-tsung chi*, which appears (among other places) in *chüan* 30 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.[43] The *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men* has been shown to be a text composed in the T'ang and attributed to Bodhidharma.[44] Pseudepigraphal works of this sort are numerous enough to be regarded as a genre of sorts, dubbed "Bodhidharma treatises" (*daruma ron*) by Japanese scholars. The *Kuan-hsin lun*, another of the "Bodhidharma treatises," is recognized as a work by Shen-hsiu.[45] Recently, Tanaka Ryōshō has suggested that the *Ta-ch'eng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun* may also be a Northern school work.[46]

The approach taken by modern scholarship has been to establish the authorship of such texts on the basis of external evidence whenever possible,[47] and then to examine the contents for distinctive doctrinal themes or catchwords (e.g. *li-nien*, *wu-nien*, *k'an-hsin*, etc.) that can be regarded as the signature of a particular ancestral teacher and his school of Ch'an. The occurrence of such doctrines and catchwords in other texts of unknown authorship is then used to identify them as works belonging to one or another branch of the ancient "Ch'an lineage." It is noteworthy that this procedure has not resulted in the discovery of any "new" branches of Ch'an: all of the Tun-

huang texts analyzed thus far have been assigned to one of the T'ang Ch'an schools already known to scholars from the Sung historiography and the writings of Tsung-mi, as if these were the only conceivable pigeonholes in which to file "Ch'an" materials. Indeed, we may well question the assumption that compels scholars working on such materials to identify every text as the product of some "lineage" in the first place, as though such identifications were a hermeneutical necessity.

Despite the aforementioned critical reevaluations of the texts introduced by Yabuki, they (and various other recensions of them that have since been discovered) are still regarded today as valuable sources for the early history of Ch'an. Although scholars now recognize the "Bodhidharma treatises" as pseudepigraphal, the very fact that a text represented itself as the work of Bodhidharma, or was subsequently attributed to Bodhidharma, is often taken as evidence that it was a document composed or at least accepted as authoritative by members of the Ch'an lineage. Similarly, all lamp histories which include Bodhidharma and certain other ancestral teachers in a genealogy of Dharma transmission are regarded, ipso facto, as "Ch'an" texts. Implicit in this method of identifying Ch'an literature is the notion that the early Ch'an lineage was comprised of persons who *claimed* to be the spiritual heirs of Bodhidharma, whether or not there is any other demonstrable historical connection between them and Bodhidharma. There has thus been a subtle shift -- an increased ambiguity, actually -- in the conception of the early "Ch'an lineage" since the early 1930's.

Thus far in this section we have examined the criteria that Okada Gihō used to determine the types of literary sources that were pertinent to the history Ch'an as that field was understood in 1930, and have discussed the criteria that were initially used to identify "Ch'an" materials among the Tun-huang documents. Let us now, by way of comparison, turn our attention to the criteria adduced by Tanaka Ryōshō in his *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū* (*A Study of Tun-huang Zen Lineage Documents*), a book that was published in 1983.

This work by Tanaka, it should be noted, represents an effort by the author to assemble under one cover the results of some thirty years of research, most of which he had previously published in scholarly journals. Because much of Tanaka's work had focused in piecemeal fashion on a great variety of Tun-huang "Ch'an" texts, when it came to compiling and organizing the contents of his *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū* he felt the need to present the texts in question in a more systematic manner. To this end he divided the Tun-huang "Ch'an" materials into four basic categories, and devoted a chapter to each. Although Tanaka's book differs from that of Okada in that it is not intended to provide an exhaustive summary of source materials for the study of the history of Ch'an, the categories of "Ch'an" texts that Tanaka employs are nevertheless meant to comprise a comprehensive classificatory framework. Without dwelling on the details of the particular texts that Tanaka discusses, let us examine each of his four categories in turn, with attention to the conception of "Ch'an" that is implicit in them.

The first category of "Ch'an" literature, treated by Tanaka in Chapter One of his *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, is what he calls the "lamp history genre" (*tōshi rui*), that is, "transmission of the lamp histories which related the history of the Ch'an lineage."[48] Now, as was noted earlier, one problem with this definition is that none of the Tun-huang lamp histories actually mention a "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*). Tanaka nevertheless presents the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* as an example of the lamp history genre, and calls it "the most important source pertaining to Northern lineage Ch'an,"[49] without ever explaining what makes it a "Ch'an" history. Thus, despite his sophisticated analysis of some variant recensions of the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, Tanaka's classification of the text seems to be based on the same sort of vague criteria that first led Yabuki to identify it as a "document related to the ancient history of Ch'an": a similarity in form and content to the Sung Ch'an lamp histories, presumably, or the appearance in the text of "Ch'an"

ancestral teachers.

Tanaka's laxness in this regard is surprising, because in the same chapter he analyzes several texts which, while related in some way to "Ch'an" lamp histories such as the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* and the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, are not (in his opinion) "Ch'an" works. The *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan*,[50] for example, presented a genealogy of Dharma inheritance consisting of twenty-three Indian patriarchs, a genealogy that was later incorporated by the compilers of the *Li-t'ai fa-pao chi*.[51] The *Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan* is probably of Chinese origin, and is regarded by some scholars as perhaps belonging to the T'ien-t'ai tradition because Chih-i drew on it when formulating a lineage of Dharma inheritance from Śākyamuni in his *Mo-ho chih-kuan*.[52] In any case, it is clear that the lamp history genre did not originate with the "Ch'an lineage," unless of course the T'ien-t'ai school is considered a branch of Ch'an — something that is unacceptable to Tanaka and most other Japanese Zen school historians. Tanaka also demonstrates in his discussion of the *Fu-chu fa-tsang chuan lüeh-ch'ao*[53] and part 35 of the *Fu fa-tsang* section of the *T'an-fa i-tse*[54] that a genealogy very similar to the Ch'an tradition's list of twenty-eight Indian patriarchs was promoted by the Fa-hsiang school in the latter half of the eighth century (prior to the compilation of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*) and subsequently adopted with some minor changes by the Esoteric school (*mikkyō*; *mi-chiao*).[55] Since Tanaka's research shows that the lamp history genre was not unique to the "Ch'an lineage," one might expect him to explain how he distinguishes between "Ch'an" and "non-Ch'an" lamp histories, but he does not do so. We are left to surmise that the presence in a genealogy of the traditional Chinese "Ch'an" patriarchs (Hui-k'o, Seng-ts'an, Tao-hsin, Hung-jen, etc.) is what distinguishes the "Ch'an" lamp histories from other texts which share roughly the same list of Indian patriarchs.

The second category of "Ch'an" literature, dealt with in Chapter Two of *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, is the "recorded sayings genre" (*goroku rui*). This Tanaka defines as "the re-

cords of sermons and dialogues by Ch'an monks (*zensō*; *ch'an-seng*), or expositions of Ch'an teachings (*zenbō*; *ch'an-fa*) that are presented in the form of dialogues."[56] This definition seems straightforward enough, until one reflects on the ambiguity of the key words *zensō* (*ch'an-seng*) and *zenbō* (*ch'an-fa*). Is Tanaka using the former term in the modern Japanese sense, in which case it means a member of the Ch'an (Zen) lineage, or is he using it to designate any monks (*seng*) who specialized in dhyāna (*ch'an*)? Similarly, is he using the term *zenbō* to refer to doctrines (*fa*) associated with the Ch'an lineage, or to techniques and/or teachings (*fa*) related to the practice of dhyāna? Since Tanaka himself fails to define his use of the terms, let us try to get a sense of what he means by referring to the texts he presents as examples of the recorded sayings genre.

Three of the five texts treated by Tanaka are "Bodhidharma treatises," that is, works attributed to Bodhidharma.[57] The other two are identified by Tanaka as a Northern lineage work and a Southern lineage work.[58] It might appear from this that when he identifies these texts as dialogues or sermons by *zensō*, he simply means that they were authored by monks traditionally associated (in the Sung historiography) with the Ch'an lineage. Tanaka is perfectly aware, however, that the "Bodhidharma treatises" in question are pseudepigraphal. We might surmise, then, that he considers the real authors of these texts to be "Ch'an lineage" monks by virtue of the fact that they claimed Bodhidharma as a spiritual ancestor. However, Tanaka argues that one of the "Bodhidharma treatises," the *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men*, while basically a "Ch'an lineage document," shows evidence of an "interchange between Ch'an and *nien-fo*," and further exhibits signs of "reworking in the manner of the Esoteric school."[59] In other words, Tanaka believes that the Esoteric school borrowed a Ch'an "Bodhidharma treatise" and altered it to meet its own polemical needs. Without reviewing Tanaka's reasons for making this claim, we may take note of one of its major implications,

which is that the "Ch'an lineage" cannot be defined as including anyone who claimed spiritual descent from Bodhidharma. This might suggest that Tanaka is willing to consider works in dialogue form produced by *any* monks who specialized in dhyāna as "Ch'an" recorded sayings. If this were truly Tanaka's position, however, he would have no reason to identify the *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men* as a "Ch'an lineage" document that was subsequently adopted and altered by the Esoteric school: he could simply view it as the work of dhyāna specialists who were not necessarily affiliated with any particular "lineage" or doctrinal school. In the final analysis, we are forced to conclude that Tanaka does in fact use the term *zensō* to mean members of the Ch'an lineage. Furthermore, it appears that he conceives of the Ch'an lineage as comprised of persons who were *actually* the spiritual heirs of Bodhidharma, distinguishable in some way from persons who claimed to perpetuate the teachings of Bodhidharma but really belonged to another school.

A similar conclusion is reached upon analyzing Tanaka's use of the term *zenbō* (*ch'an-fa*). The *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men* explicitly raises the question, "what is it that is called *ch'an-fa*?," and answers by explaining that in *ch'an* there are seven different "gates of contemplation" (*kuan-men*).[60] Since these "gates of contemplation" represent techniques for focusing the mind in meditation and viewing the mind as an object of meditation, it is evident that the term *ch'an-fa* as it is used in this text means "methods of dhyāna practice," and not "teachings of the Ch'an lineage." After explaining the seven gates of contemplation, the text proceeds to propound the "ten benefits of [reciting the] *nien-fo* in a loud voice."[61] Now, if we understand *nien-fo* as a form of dhyāna practice (which it certainly was in the context of early T'ang Buddhism),[62] the passage in the *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men* that deals with the ten benefits of *nien-fo* will not strike us as being out of place in the text. Tanaka, however, regards the passage as an interpolation of Pure Land

teachings into an otherwise "Ch'an" work.[63] Thus, for him, not any dhyāna teachings, but only certain teachings he associates with the Ch'an lineage identify a text as an example of the Ch'an recorded sayings genre. Unfortunately, Tanaka does not explain what he takes to be characteristic of Ch'an doctrine any more explicitly than Okada did a half-century ago: this is still largely a matter of intuition -- or unspoken, shared assumptions -- among Japanese Zen scholars today.

The third category of "Ch'an" literature, treated by Tanaka in Chapter Three of *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, is the genre of "poetry" (*geju rui*). Texts in this category are written in verse form and "express the joy of enlightenment and the religious life, or contain cautionary advice on religious practice and the attitude to take toward it."[64] They include inscriptions (*mei*; *ming*), admonitions (*shin*; *chen*), praises (*san*; *tsan*), and verses (*ge*; *chieh*). Although Tanaka does not make his criteria explicit, he seems to identify works of this sort as "Ch'an" documents on the basis of authorship by (or the traditional ascription of authorship to) "Ch'an monks."[65] We have already discussed the ambiguities that are inherent in this conception, and need not repeat them here. Suffice it to note that the putative authors of all the texts examined by Tanaka in Chapter Three were associated with the Ch'an lineage by Sung Ch'an historiographers.[66] Here again, it is really the traditional (Sung) understanding of Ch'an that informs Tanaka's selection of "Ch'an" literature.

A good example of this is found in Tanaka's discussion of the *Wang-ming ho-shang chüeh-hsüeh-chen*,[67] a Tun-huang text. Other recensions of this work appear in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* under the heading *Hsi-hsin tsan*,[68] and in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* under the heading *Hsi-hsin ming*.[69] The biography of Wang-ming, who flourished in the latter half of the sixth century, is included in the "dhyāna practitioners" (*hsi-ch'an*) section of the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*. It is clear from this biography that Wang-ming was a monk who specialized in dhyāna (*ch'an-ting*), but there is nothing in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* to

connect him either with Bodhidharma or with any sort of "Ch'an" ancestral lineage. It is only in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, where the *Hsi-hsin ming* is included in a collection of "inscriptions, records, admonitions, and hymns,"[70] that Wang-ming is implicitly brought within the fold of the Ch'an lineage. Insofar as Tanaka considers Wang-ming a "Ch'an monk" and not merely a dhyāna specialist, he takes essentially the same standpoint as the compilers of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. It is also worth noting in this connection that Tanaka's very classification of Ch'an poetry as a distinct genre appears to be based on the arrangement of folios 29 and 30 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*.[71]

This brings us, finally, to the fourth category of "Ch'an" literature, dealt with in Chaper Four of *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*. This category, actually, is not a unified one. It consists in part of "commentaries on and synopses of sūtra literature by Ch'an monks (*zensō*; *ch'an-seng*), and also includes the genre of "apochryphal sūtras" (*gikyō rui*), works which "borrowed the sūtra form in order to present Ch'an teachings (*zenbō*; *ch'an-fa*).[72] Here again we run up against the amibiguities of the terms *zensō* and *zenbō*, and must examine the texts treated by Tanaka as examples of "Ch'an" commentaries and apochryphal sūtras if we are to divine his meaning.

The first work discussed by Tanaka in Chapter Four is an untitled text included among a number of titled "Bodhidharma treatises" on a single long scroll found at Tun-huang.[73] The scroll bears a heading indicating that it was meant to be a collection of Bodhidharma's teachings. D.T. Suzuki found the same untitled text on another, similar Tun-huang scroll, and dubbed it the "Dialogue on the Three Jewels" (*Sanbō mondō*).[74] In Suzuki's view, because the text explains a fundamental Buddhist teaching -- the "three varieties of three jewels" -- it had little to do with Ch'an doctrine (*zen shisō*).[75] Suzuki implied that the "Dialogue on the Three Jewels" somehow found its way into a collection of Ch'an texts where it did not really belong. Tanaka agrees with Suzuki that there is nothing in the

text to particularly recommend it from the point of view of Ch'an doctrine, but he does not think it merely accidental that such a work should have found its way into a Ch'an collection. Tanaka notes that since Suzuki commented on the "Dialogue on the Three Jewels" in 1951, eight other Tun-huang texts have been found that treat the three jewels in the same manner.[76] The salient feature of these recensions of the "Dialogue on the Three Jewels" is that seven of them also contain explanations of the doctrine of the "four [noble] truths." Tanaka refers collectively to all ten recensions of the "Dialogue on the Three Jewels" as "Verses on the Three Jewels and Four Truths" (*Sanbō shitai bun*), on the assumption that the text in its original form included both a discussion of the three jewels and four truths. He points out that the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, "a lamp history which transmits the Ch'an of the Pao-t'ang monastery line in Szechwan," contains a reference to these doctrines: in the biography of Wu-chu (the patriarch of the Pao-t'ang school), Wu-chu is said to have asked a certain Dharma master about the "meaning of the three jewels and four truths," eliciting in response only the comment that they are "inconceivable."[77] Tanaka notes that the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* is now known by scholars to have exerted considerable influence on the early formation of Tibetan Buddhism. He uses this fact to put forward his own hypothesis, which is that Ch'an monks in Tun-huang during the Tibetan occupation (786-848) must have needed primers such as the "Verses on the Three Jewels and Four Truths" to instruct the Tibetans in the fundamentals of Buddhist doctrine.

The second Tun-huang text that Tanaka discusses in this connection is the *Ta-ch'eng chung-tsung chien-chieh*.[78] This work is significant because, in the first place, it includes a section that corresponds exactly to the "Verses on the Three Jewels and Four Truths." Tanaka theorizes that the *Ta-ch'eng chung-tsung chien-chieh* was, in fact, the source on which the "Verses on the Three Jewels and Four Truths" were based. The *Ta-ch'eng chung-tsung chien-chieh* also includes explanations of a number of other fundamental Buddhist doctrinal formulae, such

as the "four elements" (*mahābhūta*), "five aggregates" (*skandha*), "twelve sense fields" (*āyatana*), "eighteen constituents" (*dhātu*), and "three poisons" (*kleśa*). The *Ta-ch'eng chung-tsung chien-chieh*, Tanaka points out, is closely related to several other Tun-huang texts that also explain the aggregates, sense fields, and constituents (which are referred to collectively as the "three categories" of dharmas): the *Ta-ch'eng san-k'o* (*The Mahāyāna Three Categories*),[79] the *Hsiao-ch'eng san-k'o* (*The Hīnayāna Three Categories*),[80] and the *San-k'o fa-i* (*The Meaning of the Three Categories of Dharmas*).[81]

One reason for associating these works with "Ch'an" literature, in Tanaka's view, is that a similar explanation of the "three categories" of dharmas is found in section 45 of the Tun-huang text of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* (*The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Ancestor*).[82] Indeed, according to the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*, the teaching of the "three categories" was given by Hui-neng to his disciples as one of the essential doctrines they should transmit after his death. Moreover, Tanaka points out, the *San-k'o fa-i* and the *Ta-ch'eng san-k'o* both contain definitions of seated dhyāna (*tso-ch'an*) that are virtually identical to those found in the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* and Shen-hui's *P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun* and *Nan-tsung ting hsieh-cheng wu keng-chuan*, to wit (following the wording of the *San-k'o fa-i*):

> When mindfulness (*nien*) is not set up, that is sitting (*tso*); when one sees the original nature (*chien pen-hsing*), that is dhyāna (*ch'an*).[83]

This shared definition of seated dhyāna is evidence, Tanaka holds, that the *San-k'o fa-i* and the *Ta-ch'eng san-k'o* were closely related to the Southern lineage of Ch'an.

For the reasons given above, Tanaka believes that the various texts which deal with the "three categories" of dharmas and with other fundamental Buddhist doctrines such as the three jewels and four truths were works associated with the Ch'an lineage. As we have already seen, Tanaka explains this association, and the appearance of such general introductions to Bud-

dhist lore in collections of "Ch'an" texts, as a reflection of a need felt by Chinese Ch'an monks to educate the Tibetans during the period of the latter's dominance in the Tun-huang region. One of the interesting implications of this argument (if we accept its validity) is that the branches of the "Ch'an lineage" that were influential in Szechwan, Tun-huang and Tibet -- namely, the Pao-t'ang and Ching-chung schools[84] -- relied on some rather conventional Indian doctrinal formulations when it came to introducing Buddhism to a people who had little or no previous acquaintance with it. This is significant because the early "Ch'an lineage" in general, and the Pao-t'ang lineage in particular, are often portrayed as radical movements which completely rejected the scholasticism of the Indian Buddhist tradition.

Although Tanaka finds it an "indisputable fact" that the teaching of the "three categories" of dharmas is presented in the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* as the dying instructions (*yuikai*) of Hui-neng to his disciples, he confesses that (like Ui before him), he also finds it "extremely strange" that a Ch'an monk would pass on "Abhidharma-like" teachings as his most important legacy.[85] Now, the fact that Tanaka regards Hui-neng's preaching of the "three categories" as an anomaly shows that his thinking is colored by two related preconceptions: first, that Hui-neng was a "Ch'an lineage" monk, rather than an ordinary dhyāna specialist who might very well have used conventional dharma lists as a basis for meditation, and second, that such lists of dharmas were not central to either the teachings or the approach to dhyāna practice favored by the "Ch'an lineage." The evidence of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* passage would seem to call for a reevaluation of one or both of these assumptions, but Tanaka shows no sign of doing so. His own research leads him to accept the fact that the "Verses on the Three Jewels and Four Truths" and the texts dealing with the "three categories" were used by monks traditionally associated with the "Ch'an lineage," but he cannot bring himself to admit that such works may actually have been central to their teachings.

In the second half of Chapter Four, Tanaka discusses three examples of apochryphal sūtras and commentaries that he considers "Ch'an" literature: the *Yüan-ming lun*,[86] *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching*,[87] and *Fa-chü ching shu*.[88] In these cases, there is no mention in the texts of persons later associated with the "Ch'an lineage," and no traditional attribution of authorship to such figures. Doctrinal content, and the fact that the works in question are often quoted in other texts accepted as belonging to the Ch'an school, are used to identify them as "Ch'an" works. Tanaka regards the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching*, for example, as an apochryphal sūtra produced by the Northern lineage because it quoted by, and included in collections of, many other Northern lineage texts.[89]

In the preceding pages, we have examined attempts by two modern scholars, Okada Gihō and Tanaka Ryōshō, to provide some sort of framework for categorizing source materials pertinent to the history of Ch'an. Okada's attention, of course, focused on sources that were known to scholars prior to the discoveries at Tun-huang, whereas Tanaka is concerned primarily with the study of Tun-huang "Ch'an" texts. In the decades that have elapsed between Okada's completion of his *Zengaku kenkyūhō to sono shiryō* and Tanaka's publication of his *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, the scope of the modern "history of the Ch'an lineage" has shifted in a number of ways, as necessitated by the assimilation of the Tun-huang materials. We have noted, for example, that scholars today no longer try to trace Ch'an doctrines and practices all the way back to the historical Buddha. They no longer accept the attribution of many texts to Bodhidharma as historical fact, although they still regard such attribution as a sign that the texts in question are "Ch'an" works. They no longer view the lamp history genre as the exclusive property of the Ch'an lineage. And a number of apochryphal sūtras and treatises that no one in Okada's day associated with Ch'an have, in the light of the study of Tun-huang materials, now come to be regarded as works related in one way or another to the Ch'an lineage.

Nevertheless, a comparison of the criteria used by Okada, early researchers of Tun-huang texts, and Tanaka to identify "Ch'an" literature shows that the modern conception of the Ch'an lineage has not changed very much over the years. The same criteria used by Okada to identify "Ch'an" works -- the association of a text with members of the ancient Ch'an lineage as it has been conceived since the Sung, the treatment in a text of the theory or practice of dhyāna, and the appearance in a text of doctrines vaguely defined as "Ch'an-like" -- are all still employed by Tanaka. Furthermore, Tanaka is scarcely more aware than Okada was a half-century ago of the ambiguities inherent in the modern Japanese use of such terms as *zen*, *zensō*, and *zenbō* when speaking of texts that date from T'ang China.

Tanaka's own research reveals that Tun-huang texts associated with the early Ch'an lineage contain many elements that are usually considered characteristic of the Pure Land or Esoteric schools. As was the case with Okada, however, evidence of this sort never inspires Tanaka to reconsider his preconceptions about the nature of Ch'an. Rather, it leads him to the conclusion that there was a "mixing" of Ch'an and Pure Land teachings (or Ch'an and Esoteric teachings) in the generations after Bodhidharma, whose Ch'an was "unique" and free from such syncretism. The identification of Bodhidharma as the source of the Ch'an lineage, and the attribution to Bodhidharma of a "pure" Ch'an which serves as a standard of orthodoxy for judging all subsequent developments, is of course an approach that finds numerous precedents in the Ch'an tradition.

Before concluding this section on the scope of the modern "history of the Ch'an school," mention must be made of an area of research that has recently attracted a fair amount of scholarly attention: Tibetan language "Ch'an" texts discovered at Tun-huang. These texts, it is believed, mostly date from the period of the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang, from about 786-848. A brief examination of the criteria used to identify Tibetan materials as "Ch'an" documents will shed further light on the modern conception of the Ch'an school. I base my obser-

vations here chiefly on surveys of "Tibetan language Ch'an school documents" that have been made by Okimoto Katsumi, Kimura Ryūtoku, and Ueyama Daishun.[90]

According to Okimoto, the expression "Tibetan language Ch'an lineage documents" (*chibetto bun zenshū bunken*) can be used in a narrow sense and a broad sense. Okimoto notes that the term "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) was a Chinese one, and that a self-conscious sense of membership in such a lineage was never well developed in Tibet. Strictly speaking, therefore, the only "Ch'an lineage" documents found in Tibetan are texts that can be shown to be directly related (as translations, for example) to Chinese Ch'an texts, or documents that purport to contain the teachings of the Chinese Ch'an master Mo-ho-yen, who was active in Tibet.[91] Broadly speaking, however, Okimoto is willing to consider any Tibetan language texts compiled or revised in Tibet or Tun-huang "under the influence of the Ch'an lineage" as Ch'an documents. For Okimoto, Tibetan "Ch'an" materials in the broad sense include the following five types of texts:[92]

(1) Tibetan texts translated in whole or in part from known Chinese "Ch'an" works, such as the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*, *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, and *Li-tai fa-pao chi*; or texts that were probably translated, but for which the Chinese originals do not survive;

(2) Tibetan fragments of texts associated with the Chinese Ch'an master Mo-ho-yen, such as the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh* (Pelliot Chinese 4646), and works now lost in Chinese;[93]

(3) Tibetan translations of, or translated quotations from, Chinese "apochryphal" sūtras which, while not regarded as "Ch'an" texts proper, are nevertheless believed to be closely associated (in use if not authorship) with the Ch'an lineage: for example, the *Chin-kang san-mei ching*, *Shou-leng-yen ching*, *Fan-wang ching*, and *Ch'an-men ching*;

(4) Tibetan texts belonging to the "Mahāyoga" (*rNal ḥbyor chen po*) school, which is believed to have absorbed many elements of Chinese Ch'an; and

(5) "other" (miscellaneous) Tibetan texts, especially ones which summarize fundamental Buddhist doctrines, that are reproduced together with Ch'an texts in the same manuscripts; these are similar in contents to the Chinese "Dialogue on the Three Jewels" and other introductory tracts found at Tun-huang among collections of Ch'an texts.[94]

Kimura's approach to the categorization of Tibetan "Ch'an" materials is to divide them into two broad groups: (1) Tibetan translations of Chinese Ch'an texts, and (2) works originally composed in Tibetan which deal with "Ch'an" themes.[95] These two categories correspond roughly to Okimoto's distinction between a narrow and broad definition of Tibetan "Ch'an" literature.

For our purposes here, we need not dwell on the Tibetan materials that Okimoto and Kimura identify as "Ch'an" documents by virtue of their direct derivation from Chinese Ch'an sources. We have already examined the various criteria that have been used to associate Chinese texts with the Ch'an lineage. What is of more interest are the ways in which these scholars attempt to link texts that are of Tibetan origin, or texts for which no corresponding Chinese text survives, with the Ch'an lineage.

As we see in Okimoto's categorization, the Tibetan fragments which contain the teachings of Mo-ho-yen are considered "Ch'an" texts by virtue of Mo-ho-yen's historical association with the Ch'an lineage (the late Northern school in particular). Kimura identifies other Tibetan materials as "Ch'an" works on the grounds that they present the teachings of Chinese Ch'an masters, such as "Bodhidharmatrāta" (the first ancestor in China according to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*), Shen-hui, and Wu-chu.[96] These are *ad hominem* arguments of the sort that abound in scholarship on the history of Ch'an: whatever was taught by a member of the Ch'an lineage, it is assumed, must naturally have been Ch'an doctrine.

The identification of otherwise nondescript texts as "Ch'an" works on the grounds of their inclusion in collections of Ch'an literature is a principle that Okimoto embraces in point (5) of his categorization. Kimura, similarly, lists a number of Tibetan summaries of Indian Mādhyamika and Yogācāra doctrine that he considers related to "Ch'an" by virtue of their juxtaposition in manuscripts with texts that contain the teachings of Mo-ho-yen.[97]

Finally, both Okimoto and Kimura regard certain Tibetan texts as "Ch'an" works on doctrinal grounds, although their conceptions of what constitutes characteristically Ch'an doctrines (or teachings regarding practice) are none too clear. Kimura singles out a concern with "looking into the mind" (*k'an-hsin*), as found in the Tibetan translation of the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh*, as characteristic of Ch'an.[98] He points out a number of other Tibetan "Ch'an" texts that deal with the same issue. Another distinctively "Ch'an" theme that Kimura discovers in Tibetan texts is a concern with defining "tathāgata *ch'an*" -- an issue that finds a precedent in the writings of Shen-hui.[99]

The fundamental doctrinal stance that scholars such as Kimura, Okimoto, Obata Hironobu, Jeffrey Broughton and others regard as definitive of Tibetan "Ch'an," however, is that of "sudden enlightenment." The Tibetan Tun-huang literature, as Okimoto points out, does not display an awareness of a "Ch'an lineage." This is not surprising, for as we have seen, the tendency to give the name "Ch'an" to a putative lineage of Dharma inheritance stemming from Bodhidharma is first found in Chinese sources associated with the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu, not in the writings of Northern school or the Szechwan schools that were influential in Tun-huang and Tibet. Contemporary Tibetan sources, it seems, generally referred to the teachings associated with Mo-ho-yen and the Chinese side in the "debates" with Kamalaśīla and other Indian proponents of "gradual enlightenment," as the "all-at-once gate" or "sudden approach" (*ston-mun*; *tun-men*). Japanese scholars, following Obata, are now in the habit of referring to the "sudden approach school" (*tonmon ha*) as the Tibetan "Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū*). Ueyama summarizes Obata's position as follows:

> It was the Ch'an school that confronted Indian Buddhism at the Council of Tibet. This Ch'an school was not representative of the Northern school, the Southern school, or the Pao-t'ang school, but was unique to Tibet. The Ch'an school of Tibet was not involved in the disputation between the Northern and Southern schools, nor are there any signs of contention with the Dharma

> Ch'an school. Thus Obata calls this the Sudden school (*tonmon ha*) to distinguish it from the Chinese schools of Ch'an. The author examines, on the basis of the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh*, the doctrinal content of Ch'an in the Sudden school of Tibet. Obata concludes that the Ch'an represented by Ma-ho-yen is only superficially like the Northern school; it is doctrinally affiliated with the Pao-t'ang school, with borrowings from both the Southern school (in Shen-hui's lineage) and the Dharma school.[100]

Having posited the existence of a distinct "Ch'an school" in Tibet, Japanese scholars are now concerned with the issue that perennially haunts such conceptions: the problem of syncretism, in this case the "fusion" of pure Ch'an with elements of Buddhist tantra deriving from the Mahāyoga tradition,[101] or the mixing of Ch'an with Indian Mādhyamika and Yogācāra.[102] They are also concerned, as Ueyama puts it, with clarifying what is "characteristic of Tibetan Ch'an."[103] This is a strangely circular procedure, for without a set of characteristic doctrines (e.g. "sudden enlightenment") that are accepted as definitive, it would be difficult to speak of a Tibetan Ch'an school in the first place. To the best of my knowledge, there are no records of any distinct institutional forms or social groupings that one could use to delineate the "Ch'an" or "sudden" school in Tibet.

In adopting the rather simplistic approach of identifying the Tibetan Ch'an school with the "sudden approach" and contrasting it to the "gradual approach" of Indian Buddhism, Japanese scholars have also characterized the former as being concerned with "actual practice" (*jissen*). The latter they describe as being more a "doctrinal" or "dogmatic" form of Buddhism (*kyōgi bukkyō*).[104] This kind of distinction, we have seen, has its roots in the Ch'an tradition itself, which has long tried to distinguish itself as the lineage which transmits the direct experience of enlightenment, as opposed to the "teachings" (*chiao*) lineages which merely theorize about it. Traditionally the formula of "Ch'an versus the Teachings" has been used within the context of Chinese Buddhism to distinguish between the "practice oriented" Ch'an school on the one hand

and "philosophical" schools such as Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai on the other. Here, however, we find the same loaded formula used by modern scholars to distinguish the Chinese ("Ch'an") approach to Buddhism from that of Indian monks such as Kamalaśīla in the Tibetan setting.

In what sense, we may well ask, are the teachings of Mo-ho-yen, as we know them from the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh* and the Tun-huang Tibetan sources, more "practice oriented" (*jissen-teki*) than Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākramas*? Mo-ho-yen, it is true, taught a form of seated dhyāna practice as a means of awakening ("immediately," as it were, without relying on or suppressing conceptualization) to the true nature of the discriminating mind, and thereby stopping saṃsāra.[105] In the final analysis, however, a thoroughgoing sudden enlightenment position of the sort adopted by Mo-ho-yen demands a description of spiritual cultivation that is couched entirely in negative terms: the only effective practice is a "no practice" which abandons false conceptions by seeing them for what they are and letting them be (since to actively suppress them is itself a form of deluded discrimination). The sudden enlightenment position holds precisely that there is nothing to produce or accomplish, and nothing to "do" except realize that very fact. To ask how to realize it, and to set up realization as a project, is the natural and unavoidable human tendency, but in the logic of sudden enlightenment, all such efforts are tantamount to piling delusion on top of delusion. To the extent that Mo-ho-yen allows for "actual practice" (*jissen*) at all as a means of attaining realization, he is in fact a "gradualist." A better example of a concrete "practice oriented" Buddhism taught in Tibet, as opposed to a Buddhism so bedazzled by the goal of enlightenment that it came close to rejecting practice altogether, can be found in the *Bhāvanākramas*. When Zen scholars today speak of an emphasis on "actual practice" (*jissen*) as a characteristic of the Ch'an tradition, I would submit, what they have in mind is a practice which manifests or actualizes *enlightenment*, as opposed to the inferior practices of other

schools, which do not. This, to repeat, is one of the great conceits of the Ch'an and Zen tradition.

The Development of Modern Scholarship on the "History of the Ch'an School"

A thoroughgoing review of all the scholarship on Tun-huang Ch'an texts that has appeared in the last half century would easily fill an entire volume, and is in any case beyond the scope of the present study. I would like, however, to comment briefly on the specific contributions of a few scholars whose methods and findings have most influenced the development of the modern "history of the Ch'an lineage": Hu Shih, D.T. Suzuki, Ui Hakuju, Matsumoto Bunsaburō, Kuno Hōryū, Masunaga Reihō, Mizuno Kōgen, Sekiguchi Shindai, and Yanagida Seizan.[106]

Whereas Yabuki Keiki was the first to draw the attention of the Japanese scholarly community to the existence of "Ch'an" texts among the Tun-huang materials, Hu Shih was the first scholar outside of Japan to do research on such works, and the first anywhere to impugn the accounts of the early Ch'an lineage found in the Sung lamp histories as fabrications. Hu Shih examined the Pelliot and Stein collections in Paris and London in 1926-1927, discovering four fragmentary documents (comprising three distinct texts) that he identified as the works of Shen-hui.[107] He published these texts under the title *Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi* (Shanghai, 1930). In the same volume he also presented a biography of Shen-hui that was based on a careful comparative study of all the available sources, including the writings of Tsung-mi, the Sung histories, and of course the Tun-huang "discourses of Shen-hui" (*Shen-hui yü-lu*) that he had discovered. In 1931 he wrote a groundbreaking article, entitled "Leng-chia shih-tzu chi hsü" ("An Introduction to the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*").[108] In it he discussed the significance of the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, texts of which he had discovered in the Pelliot (P 3436) and Stein (S 2054) collections five years earlier. This he followed up in 1935 with a more conclusive monograph entitled "Leng-chia-tsung k'ao" ("An Explanation of the Lankā Lineage").[109]

The great significance of these early works of Hu Shih was that they revealed the traditional notion of an unbroken line of succession between the "Lankā school" of Bodhidharma and the "Southern school" of Hui-neng to be a retrospective fabrication first conceived and promoted by Shen-hui. Hu Shih took the position that the real heir to the Lankā school of Bodhidharma was the school that later came to be deprecated as the "Northern lineage" of Shen-hsiu. Shen-hui, he argued, was a "rebel" who attacked the orthodox (state approved) Lankā school of Shen-hsiu and P'u-chi, and an inspired "heretic" who eventually succeeded in establishing as orthodoxy a radically new approach to Buddhism. In Hu Shih's view there was no substantative connection between the new, quintessentially Chinese Buddhism of Shen-hui -- the so-called Southern school of Ch'an -- and the Lankā school stretching from Bodhidharma to Shen-hsiu, which still retained many vestiges of the alien, Indian Buddhist tradition. The connection, in Hu Shih's estimation, was a purely nominal one which resulted from Shen-hui's unfortunate decision to follow the "bad example" of the T'ien-t'ai and Lankā schools of inventing a genealogy of ancestral teachers as a device to gain legitimacy.

Hu Shih's findings aroused little scholarly interest in China itself.[110] However, his no-nonsense, rigorously objective stance as a historian, and his bold dismissal of the early history of the Ch'an lineage as told in the Sung lamp histories, had a great impact on the world of Japanese Zen scholarship. His work also succeeded in attracting a number of scholars in the West to the field of early Ch'an studies.[111] In the aftermath of Hu Shih's research, serious students of the "history of the Ch'an lineage" could no longer assume that the genealogies of Dharma inheritance with which they were accustomed to deal were straight-forward historical documents. There is no doubt that the community of Zen scholars in Japan was pushed by Hu-shih, politely but decisively, in the direction of a more rigorous criticism of all the textual sources for the history of Ch'an, both the traditional historiography and the Tun-huang

materials.

At the same time, there was something of a backlash from Japanese scholars, Suzuki foremost among them, against what was seen as Hu Shih's obtuseness to religious modes of understanding.[112] In reaction to Hu Shih's approach, Suzuki went to the extreme of protesting that "our so-called rationalistic way of thinking has apparently no use in evaluating the truth or untruth of Zen."[113] The Japanese objections to Hu Shih's approach cannot be entirely dismissed as Zen Buddhist apologetics, however. As far as Hu Shih was concerned, a "false history" was nothing but a sham -- something to be exposed and then discarded. He does not seem to have appreciated the sense in which a historical falsehood can nevertheless embody (for those who conceive and perpetuate it) a sincerely held religious truth. In other words, he was not at all inclined to assign the Ch'an lamp histories any positive value as examples of religious mythology.

It is ironic, given his otherwise hard-headed evaluation of the Sung Ch'an historiography, that Hu Shih accepted at face value one of the Ch'an school's fondest myths: the story of Pai-chang Huai-hai, who "first founded the Zen monastery and formulated its rules of government."[114] Without giving his sources, Hu Shih presented a summary of the account of Pai-chang found in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* as historical fact, and even embellished the story with a number of purely speculative remarks, such as:

> The most interesting thing is that the Zennist monastery as designed by Hwei-hai (*sic*) was organized more like a school than a place of religious worship. In fact, the Zen monasteries were the great centers of philosophical speculation and discussion throughout the 9th and 10th centuries. It was not until Zennism had superceded practically all the other sects that the Zennist monasteries came to take up the older rituals and worships which they, as publicly supported institutions, were now expected to perform.[115]

Hu Shih's suggestion here that Ch'an monasteries in the 9th and 10th centuries were not publicly supported institutions is

based on the assumption that the monks supported themselves by manual labor, a state of affairs which represented a "radical departure from the parasitic institution of mendicancy practised in Indian Buddhism."[116] As we shall see in Chapter Seven, the available historical evidence does not bear out the notion that monasteries founded by Pai-chang and other leading figures in the Hung-chou school were independent of aristocratic and official patronage. Nor does it support the notion that manual labor by Buddhist monks was an innovation of the Ch'an school in the 9th century. But Hu Shih did not even attempt to base his argument on concrete evidence: he simply jumped from the famous dictum attributed to Pai-chang, "No labor, no food," to the conclusion that Pai-chang's monastery must have been economically self-sufficient. The suggestion that Ch'an monasteries in the 9th and 10th centuries were not religious institutions, but "schools" for the study of philosophy, also reflected little more than Hu Shih's own wishful imagination. All of these historical issues are treated in detail in Part Two of this study. I have raised them here simply to make the point that even the most skeptical of scholars was inclined to accept the traditional Sung account of the founding of independent Ch'an monastic institutions in the T'ang at face value. Perhaps it was the absence of any obviously controverting evidence, similar in impact to the Tun-huang materials, that lulled Hu Shih into letting down his critical guard. Or perhaps, like so many others who have speculated on the nature of "Ch'an" monasticism in the T'ang, Hu Shih could not resist the temptation to cloak the figure of Pai-chang in the mantel of his own most cherished values.

Proceeding in roughly chronological order, the next scholar whose work on Tun-huang texts greatly influenced the "history of the Ch'an lineage" was D.T. Suzuki. Suzuki, interestingly, first became aware of the existence of Tun-huang documents pertinent to the field when he read a review of his newly published *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series) which appeared on August 25, 1927 in the Literary Supplement of the London

Times.[117] The unnamed author of the review, as it turned out, was none other than Hu Shih, who wrote:

> These essays (with one exception) are reprinted, with additions and emendations from the *Eastern Buddhist*.... The tone of the book is accordingly half scholarly, half propagandist.... The essay on the history of Zen, written specially for this book is the weakest of the eight. It is singularly unfortunate that Dr. Suzuki is unaware of Pelliot's researches.... he is also unfamiliar with the important Zen documents at the Bibliotheque Nationale, which also throw much new light on the early history of the sect.[118]

Having been apprised of the existence of Tun-huang Ch'an documents, Suzuki soon became the leading force behind their study in Japan. In 1931, he published an article on the *Leng-chia shih-tsu chi*, a text that was of particular interest to him because he had recently completed his *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* (London, 1930) without any knowledge of it.[119] In 1934 he edited and published another Tun-huang recension (found in the Ishii collection) of one of the fragmentary "discourses of Shen-hui" (P 3047) discovered by Hu Shih. He also published an edition of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* based on the Tun-huang text discovered by Yabuki in London in 1925 and the Kōshōji text, which he himself had discovered. In the same year Suzuki explored the Tun-huang texts held in the Peking collection and discovered a number Ch'an texts which he published in 1935 under the title of *Tonkō shutsudo shōshitsu issho* (*Lost Texts of Bodhidharma Discovered in Tun-huang*). The same collection of texts was then republished in 1936 together with Suzuki's commentary and an article by him on Bodhidharma's method of dhyāna. As Yanagida has pointed out, Suzuki's work on Tun-huang Ch'an texts marked "the beginning in Japan of genuine research on the history of the Ch'an lineage."[120]

We have already had several occasions in the preceding pages to take note of Suzuki's basic approach to the study of the history of Ch'an, so I shall not dwell long on the issue here. Hu Shih's characterization of Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* as "half scholarly, half propagandist" may be extended to

his subsequent studies of Tun-huang Ch'an texts as well, if by "propagandist" we mean Suzuki's steadfast insistence as a Zen Buddhist that enlightenment (*satori*) and the transmission of enlightenment were the central "facts" to be studied in the history of Ch'an. Actually, as Suzuki made clear in his objections to Hu Shih's approach, he regarded enlightenment as an eternal, transcendent truth that is fundamentally beyond the grasp of the rational historical method. It was only the concrete *expressions* of enlightenment in the lives and teachings of the ancestral teachers, he believed, that were susceptible to explanation in terms of historical causes and conditions. In his major Japanese language studies of early Ch'an, Suzuki focused on the "history of Ch'an thought" (*zen shisō shi*), by which he meant the changing modes of expression given by various Ch'an masters to the one fundamental experience of enlightenment that they all held in common. Suzuki, it could be said, never felt unduly threatened by the critical dismantling of the traditional account of the Ch'an lineage because he believed firmly in the trans-historical continuity of Śākyamuni's enlightenment with that of the Ch'an ancestral teachers.

The next of the Japanese scholars to leave his mark on the field of early Ch'an studies was Ui Hakuju. Ui seems to have been genuinely concerned that the comparative study of the Tun-huang lamp histories would result in an overreaction whereby the very historicity of certain Ch'an "ancestral teachers through whom the lamp was transmitted" (*dentō soshi*) would be denied, and the entire traditional (Sung) history of Ch'an would be disallowed as a basis for critical historical inquiry.[121] Whereas Suzuki tried to protect the Zen tradition by placing an essential part of it beyond the reach of critical scholarship, Ui set himself the task of defending the traditional history using modern critical methods and taking into account the evidence of the Tun-huang documents. His attitude, basically, was that the particulars of the traditional account should be allowed to stand unless and until they were refuted by hard evidence. Ui's major works on early Ch'an, his *Zenshū*

shi kenkyū (Studies in the History of the Ch'an Lineage) and its two companion volumes (published in 1939, 1941, and 1943 respectively), are in large part organized along the same lines as the Sung lamp histories. Following the traditional lineage divisions, many of the essays in these three collections are devoted to an examination of the biographies and teachings of the most illustrious Ch'an ancestral teachers and their disciples.

As was noted in the General Introduction, Ui's study of the fourth and fifth "Ch'an" ancestors, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, led him to reject the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account of the founding of the first Ch'an monastery by Pai-chang, and to bestow that honor on Tao-hsin. In this particular critique of the tradition, Ui actually made claims for the antiquity of an independent Ch'an monasticism that far exceeded those of the Sung historiographers. As I have already indicated, I do not believe that Ui's theories on this subject are grounded in any sound historical evidence. Nevertheless, his views on early Ch'an monastic institutions are still influential, and shall warrant our close attention in Part Two of this dissertation.

Among Suzuki and Ui's contemporaries, two who made significant contributions to the "history of the Ch'an lineage" at a relatively early stage were Matsumoto Bunsaburō and Kuno Hōryū. Matsumoto had published a book entitled *Kongōkyō to rokuso dankyō no kenkyū (A Study of the Diamond Sutra and the Platform Sutra of the Six Ancestor)* in 1913, and was moved by Yabuki's discovery of the Tun-huang text of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* (and then by Suzuki's edition of the text) to reconsider his earlier findings in a monograph written in 1932.[122] Kuno is noteworthy for his work on the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, three texts of which he found in the Pelliot collection in 1937, and for his study of Northern school doctrines based on Tun-huang documents.[123]

The study of Tun-huang "Ch'an" documents, we have seen, led scholars such as Hu-shi, Suzuki, Ui, and Kuno in the direction of correcting the traditional lines of Dharma transmission issuing from Bodhidharma, and determining the characteristic doc-

trinal positions of the various divisions of the "Ch'an" lineage. The discovery of pertinent Tun-huang texts also influenced the branch of early Ch'an studies that was concerned with tracing the evolution of Chinese "Mahāyāna" or "Ch'an" approaches to dhyāna practice. During the war years and postwar period, the Sōtō Zen scholar Masunaga Reihō devoted himself to the study of "the history of dhyāna theory" (*zenjō shisō shi*) from primitive Buddhism to Dōgen, making use of a number of Tun-huang texts which deal with dhyāna.[124] Mizuno Kōgen, an expert on Indian Buddhism who (like Ui and Masunaga) taught at the Sōtō school's Komazawa University, contributed to the study of the history of dhyāna with research on the transmission of Indian dhyāna manuals to China, and on the activities of Indian and Central Asian dhyāna masters in China prior to the formation of the Ch'an lineage (i.e. prior to Bodhidharma).[125] Mizuno is also noteworthy for his identification of the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* and the *Fo-shuo fa-chü ching* as pseudepigrapha produced by the early "Ch'an lineage."[126]

The field of early Ch'an studies, dominated as it has been by scholars who are affiliated in some way with the schools of modern Japanese Zen, has been pushed to higher levels of critical awareness by two "outsiders" in the course of its development. The first such outsider, of course, was Hu Shih. The second was Sekiguchi Shindai, a scholar of the Japanese Tendai school who turned his attention in the 1950s and '60s to the study of Bodhidharma and the early "Ch'an lineage." In 1957, Sekiguchi published his *Daruma daishi no kenkyū* (*A Study of the Great Master Bodhidharma*), which dealt with the so-called "Bodhidharma treatises" (works attributed to Bodhidharma) that had been handed down in the Ch'an tradition and had been discovered among the Tung-huang materials. In this study Sekiguchi concluded that only two of the many extant "Bodhidharma treatises" can legitimately be attributed to Bodhidharma: the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing*[127] (*Two Entrances and Four Practices*) and the *Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun*[128] (*Record of the Ch'an Master Dharma*), a Tun-huang text discovered by Sekiguchi himself. The remainder of

the treatises were either forged in Bodhidharma's name, or belatedly ascribed to Bodhidharma after circulating under the names of different (and more likely true) authors, such as Chih-i, Shen-hsiu, and Niu-t'ou Fa-jung.[129] In 1960 Sekiguchi followed up on his study of the "Bodhidharma treatises" with a book entitled *Zenshū shisō shi (A Doctrinal History of the Ch'an Lineage)*, in which he analyzed the teachings of various branches of the "Ch'an lineage" (in the period before that designation came into use) and attempted to establish the true historical relations between them on the basis of doctrinal correspondences and differences. Sekiguchi's third major work on the history of Ch'an, entitled *Daruma no kenkyū (A Study of Bodhidharma*, was published in 1967. In it he analyzed the evolution of hagiographies of Bodhidharma in much the same way that he had earlier dealt with the pseudepigrapha ascribed to Bodhidharma.

The most innovative feature of Sekiguchi's approach was his acceptance of all the "Bodhidharma treatises" and biographies of Bodhidharma as legitimate sources for the history of early Ch'an, on the grounds that the formation and evolution of this body of pseudepigrapha and hagiography directly reflected (and indeed was the primary evidence for) the development of the "Ch'an lineage" itself. Sekiguchi, in other words, understood the early "Ch'an lineage" as a movement in Chinese Buddhism distinguishable chiefly by its myth making activities, that is, its formation of the myth of the founding patriarch Bodhidharma and its ascription of doctrines to him.

Hu Shih, we have seen, shook the world of Japanese Zen scholarship by asserting that there was no doctrinal continuity between the Lankā school of Bodhidharma and the Southern school of Hui-neng. Sekiguchi carried this sort of critique several steps further by arguing on doctrinal grounds that the so-called Lankā school itself was not a unified tradition stretching from Bodhidharma to Shen-hsiu. The connection between the Lankā school of Bodhidharma and the East Mountain school of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, he tried to show, was a spurious one

that was forged retrospectively by the followers of Shen-hsiu in works such as the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*. The teachings of the East Mountain school, in Sekiguchi's view, bore no resemblance to those of the earlier Lankā school, but were in fact greatly influenced by the doctrines of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i.[130] Sekiguchi agreed with Hu Shih that Shen-hsiu was, in terms of the doctrines he taught, the legitimate heir of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, and that Shen-hui was a rebel who first stigmatized Shen-hsiu's followers as the "Northern lineage" and set up his own "Southern lineage" in opposition to it. However, whereas Hu Shih saw a more or less unbroken development of a new, purely Chinese Ch'an from Shen-hui down to Ma-tsu and the other masters of the Hung-chou school, Sekiguchi argued that the later "Southern lineages" of Ma-tsu and Shih-t'ou had merely usurped the name of Shen-hui's school while rejecting its teachings. As we saw in Chapter Four, Sekiguchi argued convincingly that the term "Ch'an lineage" was first used as a term of self-reference by the Hung-chou school. Because he also saw the doctrines of the Hung-chou school as radical and innovative, he was able to claim that neither the name "Ch'an lineage" nor the teachings associated with it by the subsequent Ch'an tradition existed before the ninth century.[131] Whereas Hu Shih's critique revealed that one key link in the traditional Ch'an lineage was fabricated retrospectively for sectarian reasons, Sekiguchi's analysis severed the lineage into a number of doctrinally unrelated schools, each of which was linked to the preceding ones only by its spurious claim to descent from Bodhidharma. This, we shall see, provoked a reaction from Yanagida Seizan and other scholars in the Japanese Zen camp, who tried to salvage the traditional Ch'an lineage by positing a fundamental doctrinal stance that was held in common by all branches of the lineage from Bodhidharma to Hui-neng and beyond.

Sekiguchi, like Hu Shih before him, regarded the Sung Ch'an lamp histories as highly untrustworthy sources for the early history of Ch'an.[132] The primary value of those texts, he be-

lieved, lay in what they reveal about the development of Ch'an ideology at the time of their composition. Despite his generally critical stance toward the Sung Ch'an historiography, however, Sekiguchi too joined the ranks of scholars who accepted at face value the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account of Pai-chang the monastic legislator. Sekiguchi echoed Hu Shih's belief that the formation of Ch'an monastic rules by Pai-chang was tantamount to the establishment of a truly Chinese Buddhist institution, fundamentally different in its organization than the Indian Buddhist Sangha.[133] Thus, even the two prominent "outsiders" were in basic agreement with the mainstream of Japanese Zen scholarship when it came to assessing the significance of the "Pai-chang Code." All that distinguished Hu Shih and Sekiguchi's interpretation of Pai-chang's accomplishment from that of the mainstream was their belief that it represented the culmination of a broad movement in Chinese Buddhism that derived from many sources, and was not rooted solely in a putative lineage deriving from Bodhidharma.[134]

The most recent of the scholars whose methods and findings have greatly influenced the modern "history of the Ch'an lineage" is Yanagida Seizan. As was the case with Suzuki, Yanagida has close ties to the Rinzai school of Japanese Zen, having trained in a Rinzai monastery as a youth, and been on the faculty of Hanazono College (a Rinzai institution) throughout his academic career. Yanagida is a prolific author whose research, editing and translating efforts have covered almost the entire span of the history of Ch'an and Zen, from Bodhidharma down to Japanese Zen masters in the Tokugawa period. His most noteworthy contribution to the field of early Ch'an studies has been his *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū* (*A Study of Texts Pertaining to the History of the Early Ch'an Lineage*), published in 1967. In this book Yanagida traced the evolution of the Ch'an lamp history genre in the period between the composition of the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* in the latter half of the seventh century and the completion of the *Sung kao-seng chuan* in 988.

Yanagida built on the work of Hu Shih, Suzuki, Ui, and Se-

kiguchi, and derived some inspiration from each of them in developing his own approach to the study of early Ch'an. He combined a rigorous historical text criticism in the mode of Hu-shih with a sympathetic treatment of the texts as documents expressing religious insights that was reminiscent of Suzuki. Approaching the lamp history genre in much the same way that Sekiguchi approached the "Bodhidharma treatises" and hagiographies, he tried to clarify the process whereby each of the T'ang lamp histories built on the fabrications of the previous ones. Like Sekiguchi, he treated these "false" documents as bona fide sources for a "history of the Ch'an lineage" (*zenshū shi*) and the "history of Ch'an thought" (*zen shisō shi*). He also accepted Sekiguchi's divisions in the early "Ch'an lineage" (Lankā school, East Mountain school, [Bodhi]dharma school, etc.), and followed Sekiguchi's strategy of associating different stages in the development of the myth of the Ch'an lineage with particular branches of Ch'an.

What Yanagida could not abide was Sekiguchi's conclusion that Bodhidharma's lineage was *only* a myth formulated retrospectively and in stages, without any underlying substance or continuity that would allow critical historians to speak of the "Ch'an lineage" as something that existed from Bodhidharma's time on. His reaction against Sekiguchi on this issue, where the very existence of the "early Ch'an lineage" stemming from Bodhidharma was in question, may be compared in its conservatism to Ui's earlier reaction against the work of Hu Shih. Yanagida's response to Sekiguchi is also similar in one respect to Suzuki's objections to Hu Shih, for both of these Rinzai scholars pointed to the transmission of enlightenment as the fundamental principle that accounts for the essential unity of the "Ch'an lineage" throughout its course of development.

Yanagida's defense of the integrity of the traditional "Ch'an lineage" is expressed most explicitly in the final chapter of his *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, in two sections entitled "The Essence of the Ch'an Lineage" ("Zenshū no honshitsu").[135] Here Yanagida takes the position that the defining

characteristic of the sixth ancestor Hui-neng's Buddhism was the "simple transmission of the essential purport" (*tan-ch'uan tsung-chih*), that is, the direct transmission of enlightenment without relying on doctrinal formulations or any other expedient means (*fang-pien*).[136] He then claims that the same idea of "characterizing the standpoint of the tradition deriving from Bodhidharma as a direct transmission of the seal of the Buddha mind which does not rely on sūtras or the written word" was clearly expressed in the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, two lamp histories of the so-called Northern lineage.[137] Finally, he asserts that the standpoint of "not relying on words and letters" (*pu-li wen-tzu*) evinced in these texts was based on the teaching of "entrance through principle" (*ju-li*) found in Bodhidharma's *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun*.[138] In this way, Yanagida tries to trace the essential feature of Hui-neng's Buddhism back through the Northern lineage lamp histories to Bodhidharma, thereby establishing an element of continuity that may serve to hold the early "Ch'an lineage" together.

One weakness in Yanagida's argument, as he himself recognizes, is the fact that the term "simple transmission" (*tan-ch'uan*) does not actually appear in any text earlier than a stupa inscription commemorating Hui-neng's ordination.[139] Yanagida attempts to explain this by suggesting that Hui-neng and the Southern lineage stressed the standpoint of "simple transmission" in opposition to the T'ien-t'ai teaching of the complementary nature of doctrinal (*chiao*) study and meditation (*kuan*) practice, which had influenced the approach of the Northern lineage.[140] In other words, he represents the Northern lineage as the link between Hui-neng and Bodhidharma, but at the same time wants to say that the Northern lineage was vitiated by an admixture of T'ien-t'ai syncretism and theories concerning "the unity of Ch'an and the scriptural teachings," and that Hui-neng had to emphasize the "simple transmission" of enlightenment as a way of overcoming those tendencies. Thus, for Yanagida, Hui-neng was at once the promulgator of a "revo-

lutionary" standpoint in opposition to the Northern lineage, and the ancestral teacher who faithfully transmitted the true essence of Bodhidharma's teaching.

The case that Yanagida tries to make here, apart from its patent bias against the T'ien-t'ai tradition (which must be understood in the context of the Japanese Zen antipathy towards the Japanese Tendai school in general and the claims of its spokesman Sekiguchi in particular), suffers from a serious methodological flaw. It looks backwards from Hui-neng to Bodhidharma, and takes the occurrence in the Northern lineage lamp histories and the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* of ideas roughly similar to Hui-neng's "simple transmission" (*tan-ch'uan*) as evidence of a lineal transmission of those ideas from the earlier "Ch'an" texts. This is a case of assuming that which is to be proved, for an examination of other ("non-Ch'an") Buddhist literature turns up ideas that may just as easily be seen as precedents to Hui-neng's "simple transmission." As Yanagida himself points out, the concept of not relying on words or "names and forms" is found frequently in the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* and in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* literature; moreover, no less a promoter of Hui-neng than Shen-hui urged the extensive reading of such Mahāyāna sūtras.[141] Thus, it is not necessary to posit a line of development from Bodhidharma through the Northern lineage to Hui-neng and Shen-hui, because the latter figures could have derived their "simple transmission" standpoint directly from the sūtras.

Explicit Definitions and Characterizations of the Ch'an School

In the previous sections of this chapter we examined various modern conceptions of the early Ch'an school that are implicit in the selection of sources deemed relevant to the "history of the Ch'an lineage," and discussed the ways in which the study of the Tun-huang "Ch'an" materials has led some influential scholars to rethink that history. In the present section, I shall focus on a number of formulae that modern scholars have used to explicitly define or characterize the Ch'an school.

Explicit definitions of Ch'an are more often found in Western scholarship than in the writings of Japanese scholars. Whether this is due to a greater awareness on the part of Western scholars of methodological problems in the historical study of religion, or simply a perceived need to spell out for Western audiences things that the Japanese take for granted, is difficult to say. In many cases, definitions of Ch'an that appear in Western scholarship are little more than explicit statements of concepts that are implicit in the work of Japanese historians.

Modern attempts to define the Ch'an school have generally dealt with five areas in which Ch'an might be understood as possessing distinguishing characteristics: (1) modes of religious practice, (2) doctrine, (3) texts handed down as sacred or authoritative, (4) monastic institutions, and (5) Dharma transmission. Some scholars formulate their definitions of Ch'an in terms of just one of these categories, while others adduce an array of defining features that fall into two or more categories. In the following pages I shall give examples of both simple and complex definitions of the Ch'an school, and discuss the suitability and implications of their use in the historical study of Ch'an.

Before embarking on a discussion of specific definitions, however, it will be helpful to make some general observations about the nature of the defining process itself, and about the types of definition that have been assayed by scholars with regard to the Ch'an school. Definitions may be distinguished from one another on the basis of what they intend to accomplish, the method they employ, and how they relate to the definiendum (i.e. that which is defined). Logicians have adduced many different types of definition. For the purposes of the present discusion, I will make use of a typology of definition formulated by Richard Robinson.[142]

Robinson draws a fundamental distinction between "real definitions" and "nominal definitions." A real definition is one which assumes the independent existence of the definiendum, understood as a real thing (*res*). Real definition of an object is

always an analysis of that object. It is often an attempt, in the manner of Aristotle, to describe "the essence of the *thing*,"[143] or to identify some property that all the individual members of a genus hold in common (i.e. that which is "essential" to the genus). A nominal definition, on the other hand, is one which has as its definiendum not *things* as such, but *words* or *concepts* (*nomina*). The aim of nominal definitions, Robinson says, is "to report or establish the meaning of a symbol."[144]

Nominal definitions are of two types. The first, called "word-word definition," reports or establishes the meaning of a symbol by saying that it means the same thing as another symbol. For example, if someone says that the the Chinese word *ch'an* means the same as the Sanskrit word *dhyāna*, it is a word-word definition. The second type of nominal definition, called "word-thing definition," reports or establishes the meaning of a symbol by correlating it with certain thing. For example, if someone points at a person sitting motionlessly and silently in the "full lotus" position and says, "that is *ch'an*," it is a word-thing definition.

Word-thing definitions, in Robinson's scheme, may be further divided into "lexical definitions" and "stipulative definitions." Lexical definitions report, as historical fact, the meaning(s) that persons have actually assigned to a symbol. When in the previous chapter I discussed the meanings of the term *ch'an* as it was used in T'ang sources, I was attempting a lexical definition. Because lexical definitions attempt to establish the facts of actual usage, they can be true or false. My analysis of the meanings of the term *ch'an* in T'ang literature, for example, is open to further testing against the available evidence, and may in principle be proven correct, partially correct, or wholly incorrect. Stipulative definitions, on the other hand, function to establish the meaning of a symbol for future use within a particular field of discourse, and thus in principle cannot be a judged true or false on the basis of evidence of any sort. They may accord in some way with

the lexical definition of the definiendum (often they select one of several lexical meanings in an effort to eliminate ambiguity in future usage), but stipulative definitions are essentially arbitrary.

Suppose, for example, that I were to stipulate for the purposes of historical research that I will regard anyone who specialized in the practice of seated meditation, and only such a one, as a "Ch'an master." If this were a lexical definition, it would be inaccurate, because in fact some historians do use the term "Ch'an master" to refer to persons (e.g. Shen-hui, Ma-tsu) whom they believe rejected seated meditation. As a stipulative definition, however, its accuracy cannot be challenged, even if its application would result in Shen-hui and Ma-tsu being removed from consideration in my historical study of "Ch'an masters." If an objection were raised to my hypothetical definition on the grounds that there were real Ch'an masters who in fact did not practice seated meditation, the objection itself could be faulted for assuming a "real definition" where only a nominal stipulative definition was intended. Nominal definitions are not concerned with determining the essential characteristics of a class of ostensibly real entities, such as "Ch'an masters," and thus cannot be criticized for being too narrow or too broad.

Robinson's analysis of "real definition" provides a fascinating example of how a thinker steeped in the Western philosophical tradition can arrive, by a very different route, at conclusions that bear a remarkable resemblance to certain features of Mahāyāna thought. Robinson acknowledges that many eminent philosophers, from Plato and Aristotle to Spinoza, Kant, Dewey and Moore, have believed in real definition. He himself concludes, however, that when people are engaged in intellectual activities they believe to be real definition, they are either involved in logically flawed procedures which should be abandoned altogether, or they are involved in legitimate and useful procedures (such as nominal definition) which they wrongly conceive as real definition. In the latter case, it is

only the mistaken belief that one is defining things rather than symbols that should be dropped, since clinging to this belief can distort otherwise valid processes of definition. Robinson's position is that the notion of real definition is a confusion of at least twelve distinct activities, some fundamentally valid and some invalid, and that "we had better drop the term 'real definition', and call each of the twelve different activities that 'real definition' has meant by a more specific name...."[145] The twelve activities he identifies are:

1. Searching for an identical meaning in all the applications of an ambiguous word.
2. Searching for essences.
3. Describing a form and giving it a name.
4. Defining a word, while mistakenly thinking that one is not talking about words.
5. Apprehending a tautology determined by a nominal definition.
6. Searching for a cause.
7. Searching for a key that will explain a mass of facts.
8. Adopting and recommending ideals.
9. Abstracting, i.e. coming to realize a form.
10. Analyzing i.e. coming to realize that a certain form is a certain complex of forms.
11. Synthesizing, i.e. coming to realize that a certain form is a certain part of a certain complex form.
12. Improving one's concepts.[146]

Among these activities, Robinson argues that the first and second are wrong (logically untenable) under any circumstances. Let us suppose, for example, that someone wished to define *ch'an*, and proceeded by first listing all the phenomena to which the word *ch'an* has been applied and then attempting to state what it is that all those phenomena have in common, by reason of which they, and only they, are called *ch'an*. The person engaged in this activity imagines himself to be formulating a real definition of *ch'an*, whereas in fact he is searching for an identity of meaning in the word *ch'an*. Whether or not it is confused with a study of *things*, such an insistence on an identical meaning in all the applications of a word is mistaken because words are in fact ambiguous, and there is no necessity that an identity of meaning should exist. It is obvious that

the word *ch'an*, to come back to our example, does not refer to the same thing in all of its applications.

The search for an essence, the second sort of activity that often goes by the name of real definition, is rejected by Robinson on the grounds that "there is no such thing as essence in the sense intended."[147] "Essence," he says, "is just the human choice of what to mean by a name, misinterpreted as being a metaphysical reality."[148]

Robinson regards the remaining ten activities that are sometimes conceived as real definition as procedures that can be valid as long as they are not confusedly understood as ways of defining *things*. To explain what Robinson means by each of these activities at this juncture would require too lengthy a digression, and is unnecessary in any case since not all of them are relevant to our discussion of definitions of the Ch'an school. In the following pages I shall cite some examples of attempted "real definitions" of the Ch'an school, and shall explain the specific activities in Robinson's list of twelve that are pertinent to those examples.

Now, taking Robinson's entire typology of definition as a frame of reference, let us begin by examining four attempts to define the Ch'an (Zen) lineage (*ch'an-tsung*, *zenshū*) that appear in dictionaries of Buddhist terms. To begin with, Mochizuki's *Bukkyō daijiten* (published in 1933) defines the Ch'an (Zen) lineage as:

> A lineage (*shū*) which relies on the dhyāna (*zen*) transmitted by Bodhidharma as the way of enlightenment. Also called the Buddha Mind lineage, and the lineage of Bodhidharma. One of the thirteen lineages of China. One of the thirteen lineages of Japan. Namely, the denomination (*shūha*) which takes Bodhidharma as its first ancestor in China, and aims at "seeing the nature and becoming Buddha" (*kenshō jōbutsu*) by means of intensive zazen....[149]

This is basically an attempt at a "real" definition, augmented by two "word-word" definitions in the second sentence. Although lexical definitions are common in dictionaries, Mochizuki is not concerned with reporting the various meanings that have

been assigned the term *ch'an-tsung* (*zenshū*) by different persons throughout history. Rather, his definition tries to pinpoint the essential features of the *ch'an-tsung* (understood as a really existing historical entity), and settles on three points: the practice of a certain type of dhyāna, the transmission of that practice from Bodhidharma down to later generations, and the doctrine of "seeing the nature and becoming Buddha." The last, of course, is the final phrase of the famous four part "separate transmission" formula that has been used to characterize the Ch'an lineage since the Sung.

In terms of Robinson's analysis of real definition, Mochizuki's definition is partly a search for essence, and partly a case of "describing a form and giving it a name." The latter activity, in Robinson's view, is legitimate, but it should not be called real definition: it is actually a disguised existential proposition (a claim that something exists) plus a nominal definition.[150] What Mochizuki's definition does is first assert the existence of an ongoing tradition in China and Japan that relied on an approach to dhyāna originally taught by Bodhidharma, and then define that tradition (with a "word-thing" definition) by calling it the "Ch'an lineage." If accepted at face value as a real definition, Mochizuki's formula would preclude asking a vital historical question that clearly needs to be asked, namely: is it true that a certain type of dhyāna practice taught by Bodhidharma was handed down, fundamentally unchanged, in China and Japan? But because it is actually an existential proposition, Mochizuki's attempt at real definition is open to historical criticism. It is quite possible (indeed, likely, in view of what is now known about the composition and dissemination of the "Bodhidharma treatises") that Bodhidharma's own dhyāna teachings (as reported in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*) ceased to exert any influence on Buddhist practice in China much beyond the seventh century.

Ui Hakuju's *Bukkyō jiten* (first published in 1938, revised in 1953) defines the Ch'an (Zen) lineage as:

A denomination which stresses effort to realize the

> original ground of one's own mind through inward contemplation (*naikan*) and self-reflection. Because it is characterized by "separate transmission outside of the teachings" (*kyōge betsuden*), and directly transmits the mind of Buddha to the minds of living beings, it is also called the Buddha Mind lineage. [It teaches] the intensive practice of zazen. It was transmitted to China (in 521 or 527) by Bodhidharma, whose approach flourished greatly from the middle of the T'ang. It got its name [Zen lineage] in contradistinction to the Teachings lineages (*kyōshū*). The historicity of the face-to-face transmission [of Dharma] through twenty-eight generations of Indian ancestors to Bodhidharma is uncertain. Bodhidharma is considered the first ancestor in China, and the lineage was handed down through four ancestors after him until it came to the fifth ancestor Hung-jen, after which it divided into the Northern lineage and Southern lineage....[151]

This is also an attempt at real definition. On the whole it is similar to Mochizuki's definition (which Ui evidently consulted), but it differs significantly in one respect. Whereas Mochizuki asserts (in the guise of real definition) the historicity of the transmission of a particular mode of dhyāna or zazen practice from Bodhidharma, Ui asserts that it is the "mind of Buddha" that is transmitted by the Ch'an (Zen) lineage. Mochizuki's hidden existential proposition, we saw, is open to historical criticism. Moreover, it raises a question which, in principle at least, can be resolved by the examination of concrete historical evidence. Ui's hidden proposition is that there is such a thing as a "direct transmission of the mind of Buddha." This too should be open to historical criticism, but here we reach an impasse: the existence of the "mind of Buddha" and its "direct transmission" to living beings are not matters that can be proven or disproven on the basis of historical evidence. Ui's definition, with its implicit claim to describe a real entity, entices us to accept as a matter of fact something that is actually a matter of religious faith or subjective religious experience.

It is also a matter of considerable sectarian bias. Ui was himself a priest of the Sōtō school of Zen and (like most Sōtō priests) a Dharma heir in the Zen lineage. It is perhaps not

surprising that his definition should promote the notion that the Ch'an (Zen) lineage directly transmits enlightenment, whereas the "Teachings lineages" transmit only doctrines. In addition to "searching for an essence" and "describing a form (i.e. direct transmission of the mind of Buddha) and giving it a name (i.e. the 'Ch'an lineage')," Ui's attempt at real definition also involves what Robinson calls "adopting and recommending ideals." Robinson points out that the search for real definitions is sometimes

> a search for ideals, an endeavour to choose what things to value and what flag to follow; and the announcement of real definitions is sometimes the announcement of one's allegiances and the act of persuading others to adopt the same ideals.[152]

Most of the examples Robinson gives, such as Marx's definition of the value of commodities as "constituted solely by the human labour contained in them,"[153] are cases in which moral demands are disguised as statements of fact. In the case of Ui's definition it is a religious ideal that is presented as a statement of fact, but the element of hidden persuasion is the same. For Buddhists, the statement that a given teaching or practice or school "transmits the mind of Buddha" has more than just a descriptive function. Because the "mind of Buddha" is enlightenment -- the sacred, the highest good -- such a statement is emotionally charged, and has a powerful evaluative function. To define the Ch'an (Zen) lineage as Ui did, quite simply, is to claim that it is the best and truest school of Buddhism.

Ui, of course, was not the first to advance such a claim in the guise of a real definition. Had he been inclined to present a lexical definition of the Ch'an lineage in his dictionary, he might have noted that similar real definitions or characterizations of that lineage have been made by its proponents since about the early ninth century. As we have seen, the formula that characterizes the Ch'an lineage in four phrases as "a separate transmission outside the teachings, not depending on texts, pointing directly at the human mind, seeing the nature and becoming Buddha" has been in use since the Sung, and the

ideas contained in that formula can be traced back to Tsung-mi's day.

Nakamura Hajime, in his *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (1981), echoes his teacher, Ui's definition, but in a more objective fashion:

> A denomination which practices the techniques of zazen and inward contemplation (*naikan*), and strives to awaken to the original nature of the human mind. Because it holds awakening to the Buddha Mind as a goal, it is also called the Buddha Mind lineage. It was first transmitted to China by the Indian Bodhidharma in 521 (or 527). Among the disciples of the fifth ancestor Hung-jen, Hui-neng promoted the Southern lineage and Shen-hsiu promoted the Northern lineage, and it [the Ch'an lineage] split into two factions....[154]

For Nakamura, it is the ideal (rather than the "fact") of awakening to the Buddha Mind, and the practice of zazen, that are definitive of the Ch'an lineage.

Finally, the *Zengaku daijiten*, published by the Sōtō school of Japanese Zen in 1978, defines the Ch'an (Zen) lineage as:

> An abbreviation of "zazen lineage" (*zazen shū*). Also called the Zen lineage in contradistinction to the Teachings lineages (*kyōshū*). A lineage (*shū*) which seeks the way of enlightenment through the techniques of dhyāna (*zenbō*) transmitted by Bodhidharma. Also called the Buddha Mind lineage, and the lineage of Bodhidharma. One of the thirteen lineages of China. One of the thirteen lineages of Japan. In China in ancient times, the lineage (*keitō*) of zazen specialists was generally referred to as the "*ch'an* lineage." This included not only the lineage of Bodhidharma, but the T'ien-t'ai and San-lun lineages as well. However, from the middle of the T'ang, the lineage of Bodhidharma prospered, and the term Ch'an lineage came to refer exclusively to Bodhidharma's line. Tsung-mi, in his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, used the term Ch'an lineage to refer to ten schools: Kiangsi, Ho-tse, Hsiu of the North, Hsien of the South, Niu-t'ou, Shih-t'ou, Pao-t'ang, Hsüan-shih, Ch'ou and Na, and T'ien-t'ai. Among these, the last three do not belong to Bodhidharma's line. Thus we know that even in Tsung-mi's day, the designation "Ch'an lineage" was not monopolized by the Bodhidharma line. However, we know from the following passage in the *Ma-tsu tao-i ch'an-shih kuang-lu* that in Ma-tsu's day Bodhidharma's Ch'an was described as "not depending on texts, a separate transmission outside the teachings," and that the term Ch'an lineage was used in contradistinction to the Teachings lineages

> which were primarily concerned with lecturing on doctrine: "A monk lecturer came and asked [Ma-tsu], 'What Dharma does the Ch'an lineage transmit and uphold?'" From the mid-T'ang through the Sung dynasty, the Ch'an lineage stemming from Bodhidharma flourished more than any other school of Chinese Buddhism, and the Ch'an lineage came to be identified solely with the lineage of Bodhidharma. Dōgen stressed that the name "Zen lineage" could not be used to refer to the authentic transmission of the Buddha Dharma in the generations following Bodhidharma (*Shōbōgenzō: Butsudō*), but in order to distinguish it from other lineages, it has been customary down to the present day to refer to the lineage of Bodhidharma as the Ch'an [Zen] lineage....[155]

The first part of this definition, which is obviously based on Mochizuki and Ui, is an attempt at *real* definition. The authors of the *Zengaku daijiten* clearly believe that there was a lineage which transmitted Bodhidharma's techniques of dhyāna down through the T'ang and Sung to the present day. The *Zengaku daijiten* differs from the three dictionaries mentioned above in that it also offers a lexical definition of "Ch'an lineage," noting that the term referred generally to dhyāna specialists until at least the mid-ninth century. The information contained here is based on the findings of Sekiguchi and Yanagida, which we examined in detail in Chapter Four. Sekiguchi was actually the first modern scholar to attempt a lexical definition of the term "Ch'an lineage." His conclusion, as we have seen, is that the term was first used in the sense of a Dharma lineage stemming from Bodhidharma by the followers of Ma-tsu's Hung-chou school. Sekiguchi holds that the connection between Ma-tsu and Bodhidharma was cooked up retrospectively, and that it involved attributing teachings to Bodhidharma that were unrelated to anything he actually taught. The *Zengaku daijiten*, in effect, sides with Yanagida, who believes that there was a real transmission of teachings and practices from Bodhidharma down to Ma-tsu, even if this tradition did not become self-conscious and call itself the "Ch'an lineage" until Ma-tsu's day.

My own opinion on this, as discussed in the previous section, is that Yanagida fails to demonstrate any continuity of doctrine between Bodhidharma and the Southern lineage of Hui-

neng and Ma-tsu. The notion that certain techniques of dhyāna taught by Bodhidharma were transmitted in an unbroken tradition is even more problematic. The classical (Sung) characterizations of the Ch'an lineage, we may recall, are unabashed in their claims that Bodhidharma's lineage was unified by the transmission of Buddha Mind, or enlightenment. Modern attempts to defend the traditional lineage against the charge that it is mythological by defining it in terms of the historical transmission of particular doctrines or methods of dhyāna are really quite feeble. Such attempts at positivism abandon the uncompromising religious conviction of the Ch'an tradition but fall short of replacing it with a sound historical method.

Most of the explicit definitions of the Ch'an school that have been formulated by modern scholars, not only those found in Buddhist dictionaries, have been attempts at real definition. Persons who engage in real definition, Robinson points out, often believe that definitions can and should be proved, and that they should come at the end rather than the beginning of a study.[156] Nominal stipulative definitions, of course, are intrinsically arbitrary, and should be reported to the reader before using the term that one wishes to define. Lexical definitions require proof, which many dictionaries provide by giving examples of actual historical usage. Those who believe in real definition have a different sort of proof in mind, however. Since a definition in their minds must accurately describe an existing thing, or discover the common element (essence) that allows things to be identified as members of a particular class, a definition is something that can be formulated only after a careful analysis of the definiendum. Moreover, once it is formulated, it seems to follow that a definition should be tested for accuracy by comparing it to the definiendum, and that it should be further refined if necessary. Thus the belief that a good definition emerges only at the end of a study.

We have seen that attempts at real definition often flounder because what they are really doing is looking for some identity of meaning in all the applications of an ambiguous

word. Lexical ambiguity, it can be argued, must defeat all efforts at formulating a real definition of the "Ch'an lineage" or Ch'an school. In the following pages I shall examine some more real definitions or characterizations of the Ch'an school that have been attempted by modern scholars, and discuss the difficulties that result when those definitions are tested against the generally accepted (lexical) meanings of the term.

In the first place, there are attempts to define the Ch'an school in terms of its approach to religious practice. Indeed, one of the most common characterizations of Ch'an is that it is more concerned with "practice" than with philosophy. Yanagida, as with Okada and many other Japanese Zen scholars,[157] regards Ch'an as the "most practice oriented (*jissen-teki*) school of Buddhism."[158] He also speaks of Ch'an and the Pure Land school together as examples of "practice oriented" denominations of Buddhism in the T'ang.[159] A similar idea is expressed by Chün-fan Yü:

> The very fact that among all Buddhist schools only Ch'an and Pure Land continued to flourish after the persecution of A.D. 845 is a clear indication of the general emphasis on religious cultivation, for both Ch'an and Pure Land Buddhists were basically uninterested in formulating doctrine or carrying on philosophical discourse. Each school offered its own practical method of salvation.[160]

In the same vein, Yü writes that

> During the late T'ang and the Five Dynasties, after the monumental task of sutra translation, doctrinal elaboration, and sectarian systematization had been accomplished, the process of assimilation started in earnest. It had been, in a sense, impossible before the Sung. So the process flowered during the Sung, when Ch'an and Pure Land emerged as the dominant sects of Chinese Buddhism. While different in approach -- Ch'an being a form of self-realization effected through one's own efforts, and Pure Land emphasizing faith as expressed in the devotion and worship of the Amitābha Buddha -- they both put practice ahead of doctrine.[161]

The question that this sort of characterization raises, of course, is what is meant by practice? It is not "theory" that Yü opposes to "practice" here, but "formulating doctrine" and

"carrying on philosphical discourse." Yü's statements imply not only that these activities are to be excluded somehow from what we mean by Buddhist "practice," but also that they are not "practical" methods of attaining salvation. Her position is basically the same as that of the Sung historiographers and modern Japanese Zen scholars who would define Ch'an as something (1) distinct from the Teachings lineages and their concern with doctrinal formulation, and (2) having a better method for attaining enlightenment.

Even if we accept the questionable proposition that philosophizing is beyond the pale of religious (and particularly Buddhist) "practice," we are are still left with the problem of what it means to characterize Ch'an as "practice oriented" (*jissen-teki*). As I noted earlier in connection with Okada, what the Japanese often mean when they call Ch'an "practice oriented" is not so much that it uses various concrete and practical methods of salvation, but rather that it is more concerned with the actual experience of enlightenment than with speculating about it. The "actual practice" (*jissen*) referred to by proponents of this view may or may not involve what we usually associate with religious practice: observable acts of a disciplined or ritualistic nature. For Yanagida, we may recall, Ma-tsu's "actual practice" was a kind of "non-cultivation" that rejected all practical devices (*fang-pien*), including dhyāna.[162]

In many cases, of course, when scholars characterize Ch'an as practice oriented, they do have in mind some form of concrete discipline which, if not externally visible, is at least explainable in positive terms. Thus, for example, after stating that both Ch'an and Pure Land "put practice ahead of doctrine," Yü continues:

> Religious salvation had to be sought through a religious life. This did not necessarily mean a monastic life, although the latter continued to be regarded as the preferred state for a person committed to Buddhism. Yet it certainly did entail a definite life style. The life of a Buddhist devotee was to embody both wisdom and compassion. When a Ch'an practitioner meditated on

> a *kung-an*, he was in fact gradually groping toward the realization of wisdom.... In the same way, by performing such small acts of charity as setting free a captured fish or refusing to eat meat on certain days, the Pure Land believer hoped to set free himself from his innate desire, greed, and hatred.[163]

By Ch'an "practice" in the Sung context, Yü evidently means meditation on a *kung-an*, whether or not it was carried on in a monastic setting.

Those who describe Ch'an as "practice oriented" often have in mind the practice of meditation or dhyāna, however that is construed. Historians taking a broad look at Buddhism in T'ang China have sometimes characterized the Ch'an school as the "meditation school," that is, a branch of Buddhism that stressed the practice of dhyāna as a means of attaining enlightenment. As such, the Ch'an school is typically contrasted with other schools of Buddhism which took different approaches to the practice of the religion. Stanley Weinstein, for example, places the Ch'an school within the broader context of T'ang Buddhism in the following manner:

> Although the political position of the Buddhist church was unstable under the T'ang, on the doctrinal side Buddhism reached its highest level of development under this dynasty. During the 170-odd years between the founding of the Sui in 581 and the outbreak of the An Lu-shan Rebellion in 755, no less than eight schools of Buddhism appeared. Three of these -- the T'ien-t'ai, the Fa-hsiang, and the Hua-yen -- can be characterized as basically philosophical in their outlook, each with a highly complex metaphysical system. In addition to these three philosophical schools there arose four other schools -- the Three Stages (San-chieh), the Pure Land (Ching-t'u), the Ch'an, and the Esoteric (Mi) -- which may be loosely termed "religious schools," since they placed primary emphasis upon religious practices that led directly to the attainment of enlightenment, for example, the universal worship of all Buddhas in the Three Stages school, the invocation of Amitābha Buddha (O-mi-t'o-fo) in the Pure Land school, meditation in the Ch'an school, and the use of mystical hand signs and incantations in the Esoteric school. The Disciplinary school (Lü), which was systematized by Tao-hsüan (596-667) in the early T'ang, concerned itself primarily with ordination procedures, the interpretation of the rules governing the behavior of monks and

> the administration of monasteries and hence does not fit into either of the two categories given above.[164]

Now, the definition of the Ch'an school as a movement within Chinese Buddhism that emphasized dhyāna as a religious practice is one that finds a precedent in the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, where Tsung-mi describes the fundamentals of dhyāna ("sit quietly with legs crossed...") and states that the use of this expedient practice is something that all the "various lineages of Ch'an" had in common.[165] If we accept such a definition, however, then there is no basis for the notion that the Ch'an school came into existence sometime after the founding of the Sui Dynasty. We know from the *Kao-seng chuan* and *Hsü kao-seng chuan* that there were Buddhist monks in China from at least the early fifth century who were considered dhyāna specialists (*hsi-ch'an* or *ch'an-tsung*) and who sometimes had sizable followings. Nor, if we accept this definition, are there any grounds for restricting the designation "Ch'an school" to a particular Dharma lineage, such as one or all of the groups of Buddhists who at some point in history claimed to be spiritual heirs to a "first ancestor" Bodhidharma. For example, the followers of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538-592), an eminent dhyāna master (*ch'an-shih*) whose writings on basic meditation techniques were accepted as a standard by dhyāna practitioners of all doctrinal persuasions throughout the T'ang, would certainly have to be considered part of the "Ch'an school" in the Sui and early T'ang. This Tsung-mi is willing to do. Weinstein, however, also follows the traditional Ch'an/Teachings dichotomy promoted by the Ch'an tradition. Thus he places the Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai schools into different categories, calling the one "religious" and the other "philosophical" in outlook.

There are several other difficulties that beset these various attempts to characterize Ch'an as a "practice oriented" form of Buddhism, or more specifically the "meditation school," as opposed to "doctrinal" or "philosphical" schools. The assumption is often made that because the idea of "a separate transmission" had some currency among proponents of the Ch'an

lineage in the T'ang, the Ch'an/Teachings division that it implies was a historical fact. But if we examine the facts, it is simply not true that Ch'an Buddhists in the T'ang and later were uninterested in formulating doctrine or engaging in philosophical discourse. If the writings of Tsung-mi are not sufficient to convince us that Ch'an masters in the T'ang could and did practice philosophy as an integral part of their religion, we need only consider the emergence in the late ninth and tenth centuries of the so-called "five houses" (*wu-chia*) of Ch'an. Each of these formulated distinctive teaching approaches and some sort of complex dialectic or metaphysical scheme that represented degrees or stages in the attainment enlightenment.

Nor is it true that the so-called Teachings lineages, T'ien-t'ai in particular, were any less concerned with religious practice or with experiencing enlightenment. How can we consider T'ien-t'ai a "philosophical" school when, in addition to promoting Chih-i's metaphysical formulations, T'ien-t'ai monks established one of the greatest monastic centers for intensive dhyāna practice? Moreover, as Sekiguchi correctly observes, Chih-i's dhyāna manuals (especially the *Hsiao chih-kuan*) were the original sources back to which all of the Ch'an school's zazen instructions (*tso-ch'an i*) can be traced.[166]

We can only conclude, as Tsung-mi so aptly pointed out, that the slogan "not depending on texts" was not a factual statement, but an expedient teaching device. It was a formulation of religious doctrine, and a powerful weapon for use in philosophical debate, not a statement recording a historical state of affairs. As we have seen, when used in a real definition, the idea that the Ch'an lineage is a "separate transmission" has a disguised, but neverthless potent evaluative and polemical function.

Another difficulty that must beset any attempt to define the Ch'an school in terms of a particular mode of practice, be it dhyāna or whatever, is that there have been many regional schools in the history of Chinese Buddhism, all subsumed retrospectively under the rubric of "Ch'an," which took dramatically

different approaches to practice. This is nowhere clearer than in the writings of Tsung-mi, which show that there was a great deal of diversity in the Ch'an movement in the latter part of the eighth century, not only doctrinally, but also in terms of how basic doctrines were translated into everyday religious practice. In his *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, following his list of the ten "houses" of Ch'an, Tsung-mi sums up the fundamental doctrine of each in a word, and then remarks:

> Some carry out all the practices, while others disregard even the Buddha. Some let the will take its course, while others restrain their minds. Some respect the sutras and vinaya as a standard, while others consider the sutras and vinaya an obstruction to the Path. These sayings are not merely vague talk; they are concrete. [Each house] concretely spreads its lineage and concretely attacks the other types.[167]

In his *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao*, Tsung-mi describes the basic doctrines of seven of these houses of Ch'an in more detail, also touching on a few of the concrete practices that distinguished them.[168] He relates, for example, that one of the major religious activities of the Ching-chung school of Wu-hsiang (684-762) was to hold large scale assemblies for giving the precepts, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, to monks and laymen. These ceremonies, we learn, were in accordance both with Vinaya rules and government regulations concerning ordinations, and were of a sort that were common practice among Chinese Buddhists at the time.[169] By contrast, Tsung-mi reports, in the Pao-t'ang school of Wu-chu (714-774), which was closely related doctrinally to the Ching-chung school, the ordination ceremony was dispensed with -- those who wanted to become monks simply shaved their heads and donned monkish robes -- and all other religious practices, such as worship, confesssion, sutra chanting, painting the portraits of Buddhas, and copying scriptures, were abandoned as products of false discrimination.[170] Furthermore,

> in the residential quarters of the monks, there is no established cult of the Buddha.... The abolition of religious works is aimed at extinguishing discrimination in order to perceive truth in its totality. Therefore,

> wherever monks stay, they should make no arguments about clothes and food, and let people decide what to offer according to their own will: should they make offerings, monks would have warm clothes and sufficient food, all right; should they ofer nothing, then monks should be ready to bear hunger and cold and should not ask for pious donations nor beg for food. If visitors come to the monastery, the monks should neither welcome them nor see them off, regardless whether the visitor is noble or humble. Whatever praise or offerings, blame or harm come upon them, they should take it easy. As the House preaches non-discrimination, its practice is centered on non-distinction of right and wrong; they regard "no thought" as the highest blessing. This is why they say 'Extinguishing consciousness....'[171]

As for the Southern lineage of Ho-tse Shen-hui, to which Tsung-mi himself claimed allegiance, we are told that while "no thought" (*wu-nien*) was the principle teaching, in actual practice the cultivation of "no thought" did not preclude engaging in all (outwardly visible) modes of religious discipline as expedient devices which accorded with circumstances.[172] The Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu Tao-i (709–788), according to Tsung-mi, taught that there should be "no cultivation of the way" except for "letting the mind be free," since the mind in all of its delusive functions is itself nothing but the Buddha nature.[173] It is not clear what the ramifications of this doctrine were in actual practice, however. Tsung-mi states that Ma-tsu himself originally underwent rigorous training in dhyāna (*tso-chan*) and pilgrimaging to sacred sites, but he also criticizes the Hung-chou school for "lack of restraint" (mentally, or in external behavior as well?). Tsung-mi gives no indication of the concrete practices engaged in by the Niu-t'ou school deriving from Hui-jung (Fa-jung; 594–657), which taught "forgetting the feelings,"[174] but he does describe the ritual of "transferring incense" and the practice of meditating on the Buddha (*nien-fo*) that was used in the Nan-shan school of Hsüan-shih.[175]

One thing that is immediately evident in reviewing the evidence just cited is that there were in the eighth century some groups of Ch'an followers who made a virtue out of abandoning

most traditional Buddhist religious practices, and who pointedly ignored many accepted rules of monkish etiquette, although it seems that even the most radical retained their status as patch-robed, head shaven monks. It is noteworthy, however, that throughout Tsung-mi's treatment of the various concrete approaches to religious training taken by Ch'an monks, the main issue seems to be whether they adopted or rejected standard forms of Buddhist monastic organization and practice: nothing is said (with the possible exception of the "incense transference" ceremony of Hsüan-shih's school) about any unique, innovative forms of Ch'an practice.

Most historians of Ch'an, beginning with those in the Sung dynasty who saw themselves as compilers of the ancient records of the Ch'an lineage, have declined to define the Ch'an school in such a manner that it would include any and all dhyāna specialists in China. Tsung-mi himself, having once defined the Ch'an lineage in just such sweeping terms, turned right around and distinguished five approaches to dhyāna practice, among which the fifth and highest (the "Ch'an of the highest vehicle") was transmitted only in those lineages stemming from Bodhidharma.[176] Tsung-mi's distinctions, significantly, point to differences in the doctrinal understanding with which the practice of dhyāna was undertaken, not differences in the basic techniques of dhyāna. The Sung historiographers, too, were at pains to show how the "Ch'an of the ancestors" in Bodhidharma's line was different than the "Ch'an of the Tathāgatas," by which was meant the traditional methods of Indian Buddhist dhyāna described in the sūtra, Vinaya and commentarial literature. Again, this is a matter of defining the Ch'an school proper (Bodhidharma's lineage) in terms of its doctrinal stance, not its use of dhyāna techniques.

Modern historians, too, have frequently cautioned against defining the Ch'an school (the school of Bodhidharma) in terms of its practice of the basic techniques of dhyāna. Yanagida Seizan, for example, writes:

> As a rule, it is necessary to think of *ch'an* and the

> Ch'an lineage separately. *Ch'an*, meaning the unique method of meditation (*meisō*) born in ancient India, first caught the attention of the Chinese people long ago in the Later Han Dynasty, even before the importation of Buddhism. People at that time were attracted by the occult appeal of meditation, and eagerly sought the religion of the foreign kingdoms to the west. Wherever there was Buddhism, there was always *ch'an*.
>
> However, the Ch'an lineage cannot necessarily be directly equated with that religion of meditation (*meisō*). Once Indian Buddhism, transmitted through Central Asia, had taken root in Chinese society, the Ch'an lineage set out to negate all of its various elements, and to make a fresh start as a new, distinctively Chinese religion.[177]

The distinction drawn between *ch'an* (dhyāna) and Ch'an by modern historians is sometimes explained in terms of a Chinese modifcation, reinterpretation, or outright rejection (as Hu Shih would have it) of the Indian practice of dhyāna. However, Ch'an is more often portrayed as a complete religious system, as opposed to *ch'an* or dhyāna, which is regarded as but one practice among many (e.g. the fifth of the six pāramitās) in the Buddhist tradition. Thus, as we saw in the General Introduction, Ch'an is widely understood not only as a Chinese reinterpretation of Indian dhyāna, but as a reaction against many different aspects of Indian Buddhism. The modern resistance to identifying Ch'an with a single practice such as dhyāna, it may be said, reflects the outlook of the Sung historiographers. The claim was made by many in the Sung that, the evidence of the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* notwithstanding, Bodhidharma was no mere dhyāna specialist (*hsi-ch'an*), but a transmitter of the Buddha Dharma in its entirety.[178]

Most historians stop somewhere short of endorsing Hu Shih's position on the Ch'an rejection of dhyāna practice, but there is widespread agreement that the Ch'an school at least rejected the theoretical and doctrinal foundations of Indian Buddhist meditation practices, and redefined the meaning of "*ch'an*." It is usually doctrinal innovation of this sort that scholars have in mind when they distinguish the Ch'an school from the general Buddhist tradition of dhyāna practice. A good example of this may be found elsewhere in Yanagida's writings, where he distin-

guishes between *ch'an* as a meditation technique common to all schools of Buddhism, and indeed to many Indian religions, and *ch'an* related theories or doctrines (*shisō*), which are often unique to and definitive of a particular school:

> Generally speaking, *ch'an* theory (*zen no shisō*) arises from two concerns: the techniques of unifying mind and body, or sitting meditation (*zazen*), and the metaphysical formulations which enfold and inform those techniques. As far as the techniques of meditation are concerned, it stands to reason that those of the South Asian Theravāda tradition and the sitting meditation of the Chinese Ch'an and Japanese Zen lineage probably share a common foundation. What is called "*ch'an* thought" (*zen no shisō*) is found, rather, in the unique metaphysical formulations that each school developed on top of this foundation. Thus, the practice of dhyāna (*zenjō*) in early Buddhism and the Sāmkhya tradition's method of yoga had a common basis in Indian style meditation, but the former gave rise to the atheistic philosophy of the Four Noble Truths and the Twelve Links of Conditioned Co-production, and the latter merely formulated a theistic theology. Next, it was the Mahāyāna type of insight meditation (*ch'an-kuan*; *zenkan*) that replaced early Buddhism's philosophy of the Four Noble Truths and Twelve Links of Conditioned Co-production with the doctrine (*shisō*) of *prajñā*. Finally, when that type of meditation came to China, a land with a different cultural climate, and met unexpectedly with the likes of Confucian ethics and the philosophy of nothingness (*wu*) of Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu, even the fundamental techniques of meditation themselves were greatly transformed by the Ch'an lineage.[179]

As is apparent in Yanagida's final remark, it is difficult to sustain the neat distinction between the physical and mental techniques of dhyāna on the one hand, and the philosophical, religious and ethical formulations which lend meaning and purpose to them on the other. In practice, at least, human beings rarely employ any techniques of dhyāna without at least some rudimentary notions of what they are after and how they hope to attain it; indeed, to have a "technique" is to have such notions. Yanagida, in any case, wants to define the Ch'an lineage chiefly in terms of its doctrines (*shisō*), which he suggests were not only influenced by the practice of zazen, but also

shaped and informed that practice in turn.

Now, the attempt to define the Ch'an school in terms of doctrines it held is just as problematic as the attempt to define it in terms of practice. We have already noted -- and the preceding quote of Yanagida underscores this point -- that religious "practice" and "doctrine" are not so easily distinguished from one another, especially when the practice is meditation and the doctrines concerned deal with the nature of meditation, its relation to enlightenment, and so on.

The doctrinal formulation most commonly used to define the Ch'an school, of course, is "a separate transmission outside the teachings, not depending on texts, pointing directly at the human mind, seeing the nature and becoming Buddha." This four part saying only appears in its fully articulated form in works dating from the twelfth century and later, but the main ideas in it seem to have gained some currency in Ch'an circles from around the early ninth century. In particular, the idea that Ch'an represents a "separate transmission" of enlightenment, "not depending on texts," seems to have been accepted by most proponents of the Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*) for as long as that term has been used to designate a lineage stemming from Bodhidharma. Remembering that it is a religious doctrine rather than a historical fact, might we not regard it as a distinctively Ch'an teaching? Tanaka Ryōshō, for example, argues that the Ch'an lineage differed from other schools of Chinese Buddhism in that it did not hold to any particular sūtra or commentary as authoritative, but vested doctrinal authority (if it can be called that) in the very enlightenment that it claimed was transmitted from master to disciple.[180]

There are two problems with defining Ch'an in terms of the doctrine of "separate transmission." The first, simply put, is that the doctrine was initially formulated by followers of Ma-tsu's Hung-chou school, and was not subscribed to by many other schools, contemporary with or earlier than Ma-tsu, that we are accustomed to regarding as branches of Ch'an. No such doctrine appears in any works that are attributable to Bodhidharma, for

example. Indeed, the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* informs us that the immediate followers of Bodhidharma took the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* as the authoritative text handed down by their teacher. Yanagida, as we saw in the previous section of this chapter, tries to trace the idea of a "direct transmission" of Buddha Mind back to Bodhidharma. He argues that even though the expression "direct transmisssion" does not appear in Bodhidharma's writings, the basic concept is there nevertheless. If one takes this tack, however, then the same vague "basic concept" can just as well be found throughout the *prajñāpāramitā* class of sūtras and other Mahāyāna texts, and it will no longer be possible to speak of it as a characteristically Ch'an teaching.

The second problem is that while most Ch'annists from the ninth century onward accepted the slogan "not depending on texts" as orthodox Ch'an doctrine, they could not agree on what it meant. Both in the T'ang and in the Sung, Ch'annists were divided on whether to take "Bodhidharma's" (for it was to the founding ancestor that the phrase was attributed) rejection of texts literally or figuratively.

Another doctrine sometimes used to define the Ch'an school is that of "sudden enlightenment" (*tun-wu*). Tsung-mi, it will be recalled, used this doctrine to distinguish the "Ch'an of the highest vehicle," by which he meant "dhyāna practice based on sudden awakening (*tun-wu*) [to the truth that] the mind is of itself pure from the start, at root without perturbations or defilements, and in its original state fully equipped with wisdom, [and that] this mind is Buddha."[181] For Tsung-mi, the doctrine of sudden enlightenment was the distinguishing mark of those Ch'an lineages deriving from Bodhidharma. Philip Yampolsky, basing himself on the work of Yanagida, states that "by the end of the eighth century all schools of Ch'an, no matter what their origins, advocated some form of sudden enlightenment."[182] Whereas Tsung-mi allowed that there were Ch'an lineages (both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna) which did not base their practice on an understanding of sudden enlightenment, Yampolsky in effect makes the sudden enlightenment doctrine definitive of

Ch'an. We have already seen that scholars such as Okimoto, Kimura, and Obata regard espousal of the sudden enlightenment doctrine as definitive of the Ch'an lineage in Tibet.[183] Hu Shih regarded "Sudden Enlightenment vesus Gradual Attainment" as the "war-cry" of Ch'an and the "instrument of simplification" that

> was destined in the course of a few centuries [following Tao-sheng] to sweep away away all worship and prayer, all constant incantation of sutras and dharanis, all alms-giving and merit-gathering, and even all practices of dhyana or Zen. When it had finally succeeded in overthrowing the Indian Dhyana itself, then there was the real Chinese Zennism.[184]

Hu Shih believed that the culmination of this process (and the emergence of the "real Chinese Zenninsm") came with Shen-hui. He traced the origins of the sudden enlightenment doctrine to Tao-sheng (d. 434), however, whom he regarded as the "founder" of Chinese Zennism, or the "School of Sudden Awakening or Enlightenment (*tun-tsung*)."[185] Thus we see that for Hu Shih, too, the doctrine of sudden enlightenment was definitive of the Ch'an school.

Again, the attempt to define Ch'an in terms of a single doctrine, in this case sudden enlightenment, creates a number of problems. In the first place, as we see in the case of Hu Shih's definitition, to do so would open up membership in the Ch'an school to anyone at all who expounds some form of "sudden" teaching, and presumably close it to anyone who ever urged any sort of gradual cultivation. To say that the Ch'an school was founded by Tao-sheng is all well and good, but to do so is to offer a stipulative definition of the "Ch'an school" that is so at variance with the lexical definition that one in effect cuts oneself off from discourse with others who are studying the history of the Ch'an school. The basic problem here is that the idea of "sudden enlightenment" is too common a theme, and has been espoused by too many persons in the history of Chinese religion, to be regarded as the exclusive property or defining mark of any one school.

A closely related difficulty, of course, is that the ex-

pression "sudden enlightenment" has been used in many different contexts, and with a variety of meanings, even by persons who are generally viewed as belonging to the Ch'an school. As Yanagida points out, "sudden enlightenment" is an exceedingly slippery concept, and one which is susceptible to every manner of interpretation:

> For them [Chinese Buddhists] the real issue was simply how one attains the conviction of liberation in this life -- that is, what the conditions are for sudden awakening. Yet the search for the conditions of sudden awakening is at base a contradictory one. For the notion of sudden awakening implies that which is unconditioned; as soon as enlightenment is defined in terms of any conditions it becomes gradual awakening, or gradual practice. This difficulty in the understanding of the sudden doctrine is a key element in the controversies which split the Ch'an school after the Fifth Patriarch Hung-jen (601-74) into its Northern and Southern branches.[186]

As Hu Shih understands it, and Yanagida tends to agree, the doctrine of sudden enlightenment leads logically to an abandonment of every sort of conventional Buddhist practice aimed at creating the conditions for awakening or Buddhahood. However, one might just as well argue that abandoning practices in the hope of gaining awakening is every bit as mistaken an approach as clinging to them, and that the logic of the doctrine of sudden enlightenment does not rule out the continuation of traditional Buddhist modes of worship and discipline. Tsung-mi, in fact, took just such a position. Moreover, it is clear from Tsung-mi's account of the various lineages which subcribed to Bodhidharma's sudden enlightenment doctrine that they could not agree at all on the practical implications of that doctrine.

As we have seen, attempts have been made to characterize the Ch'an school either as a movement which literally rejected Indian Buddhist sūtra and commentarial literature, or as one which adopted the doctrine of "not depending on texts" as its slogan even if it did not always interpret or apply that slogan in a literal fashion. In contrast to this approach, there have also been attempts to characterize the Ch'an school in terms of

its development of new and distinctive forms of religious literature. It was noted earlier in this chapter that Okada spoke of the Sung *kung-an* collections as a genre of texts unique to, if not definitive of, Ch'an.[187] Sekiguchi, it was noted, tends to view the formation of the body of psedepigrapha known as "Bodhidharma treatises" as a historical process that is in itself definitive of the "Ch'an lineage."[188] In a different context, Sekiguchi writes that "the creation of the Pai-chang Code and the compilation of texts such as the *Pao-lin chuan* indicate that the Ch'an lineage had become almost completely independent as a distinct denomination."[189] Here we find the suggestion that the emergence of the Ch'an lineage as an independent school of Chinese Buddhism, an occurrence which Sekiguchi believes took place sometime around the turn of the ninth century, can be ascertained from the fact that it produced its own monastic rule book and "lamp histories" of its own origins. By "texts such as the *Pao-lin chuan*," Sekiguchi clearly means works that champion Ma-tsu's school and are the direct forerunners of the Sung lamp histories. By defining the emergence of the Ch'an school in terms of the production of these lamp histories and the formation of the "pure rules" genre, Sekiguchi in effect identifies the Ch'an school with the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu. This fits nicely with his belief that the expression "Ch'an lineage," understood as a lineage of Dharma inheritance stemming from Bodhidharma, was first used as term of self-reference by the followers of Ma-tsu.

A similar position, defended with similar reasoning, is taken by Yanagida in an article he wrote on Ma-tsu's Ch'an. Yanagida states that "the formation of the Chinese Ch'an lineage in actual practice began with the variegated activities of Ma-tsu (709-788) and the followers in his lineage."[190] This statement, as Okimoto Katsumi points out, is based on the idea that three things were accomplished by Ma-tsu and his followers: (1) the fixing of the denominational tradition; (2) the independence of Ch'an monasteries; and (3) the production of the recorded sayings (*yü-lu*) literature.[191] Yanagida believes that Ma-tsu and

his followers fixed the Ch'an tradition, bringing to an end the controversies over Dharma inheritance, because a lamp history produced by this school, the *Pao-lin chuan*, became the basis for all subsequent accounts of Bodhidharma's lineage. The establishment of independent Ch'an monasteries, he says, may have already been in the works, but the person who brought those efforts to fruition was Ma-tsu's disciple Pai-chang with his so-called "pure rules" (*ch'ing-kuei*). Finally, in Yanagida's view, the formation of the Ch'an school was not complete until it finally cast off complicated philosophical formulations and embraced everyday speech as the best vehicle for the word of Buddha. This, he believes, was also first accomplished by Ma-tsu's followers, who began to record the sermons and dialogues of masters in their school, thereby giving birth to the recorded sayings genre of literature. Okimoto sums up Yanagida's position by saying that was through the compilation of three texts -- the *Pao-lin chuan*, *Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*, and the recorded sayings of Ma-tsu -- that the Ch'an lineage was established.[192] It was also against this background, Okimoto continues, that the Ch'an lineage became conscious of itself as the "Ch'an lineage" and started referring to itself with that name.

Now, it is certainly the historian's prerogative, if he so wishes, to stipulate that by the "Ch'an lineage" he means a movement in Chinese Buddhism that started with Ma-tsu and is characterized by the production of lamp histories which contain a certain account of Bodhidharma's lineage, "pure rules," and recorded sayings texts. Once having taken this position, however, it will not do to turn around and talk about the "history of the early Ch'an lineage" as something that took place in the sixth and seventh centuries, when the genres considered definitive of Ch'an had not yet come into existence.

When Yanagida says that the formation of the Ch'an lineage "in actual practice" began with Ma-tsu, he means that the Ch'an lineage first emerged as a distinct, independent religious denomination with the formation of Ma-tsu's school around the turn of the ninth century. Prior to that time, Yanagida be-

lieves, there was an evolution of Ch'an doctrine (*zen no shisō*) that is traceable back to Bodhidharma, but no development of sectarian Ch'an institutions. Now, as was discussed in the General Introduction, the claim that the Ch'an lineage first developed its own distinctive, independent monastic institutions in the early ninth century is one that has been made by Ch'an historigraphers since the Sung. Virtually all attempts to define the Ch'an school in terms of a distinctive form of monastic organization, including Yanagida's, have been based on a single Sung source: the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. The nature of the claims made in this text, and its reliability as a historical source, are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight below. Suffice it to note here that the task of determining when, if ever, distinctively "Ch'an" monastic institutions came into existence is an extremely complex and difficult one. That issue shall have our full attention in Chapter Six below.

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that there is some truth to the traditional claims that Ma-tsu's disciple Pai-chang established a uniquely Ch'an form of monastic practice and that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* accurately represents that practice, a problem still remains with Yanagida's definition of the Ch'an school in terms of its monastic organization. As we have already seen, Yanagida believes that Ma-tsu rejected all expedient means (*fang-pien*) of religious cultivation, including even the practice of dhyāna. He describes the process leading up to the "birth of the Ch'an lineage" in the following manner:

> It was from about the ninth century on that the Ch'an transmitted from India broke out of the confines of the mystical practice of dhyāna (*shūzen*, *hsi-ch'an*) and samādhi and merged into everyday life experience as a down-to-earth religion of the Chinese people. This signified the birth of a new Ch'an lineage, one that had not been known in Indian Buddhism. The persons who led the way the formation of this new Ch'an lineage were... Matsu of Kiangsi and Shih-t'ou of Hunan.[193]

However, if it was the rejection of specialized religious practices and a "merging into daily life" that was accomplished by Ma-tsu and his followers, how can Ma-tsu's school also be de-

scribed as one which gave rise to new and distinctive monastic institutions? In particular, if one accepts the evidence of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* at face value, as Yanagida does, then one must admit that the assiduous practice of seated dhyāna was one of the salient features of Pai-chang's system of monastic training.

A Stipulative Definition of the Ch'an School

Modern attempts to formulate real definitions of the Ch'an school in terms of characteristic doctrines, modes of practice, texts, and monastic institutions may be motivated in part by a sense that the traditional definition of the Ch'an school is deficient or unacceptable to critical historiography. There is an awareness among scholars that a definition of the Ch'an school which rests solely on the concept of a lineage of Dharma inheritance stemming from Bodhidharma, even if membership in that lineage is assumed to be critically verifiable in some concrete manner, may not be terribly meaningful from the standpoint of the historical study of religion. Suppose, to give a purely hypothetical illustration, it could somehow be shown that all dhyāna specialists in Sui and T'ang China espoused similar doctrines, engaged in similar religious practices, and lived in similar institutional settings. If this were the case, then the mere fact that certain of those dhyāna specialists belonged to a Dharma lineage deriving from Bodhidharma (the "Ch'an lineage"), while others did not, would scarcely warrant the study of the Ch'an lineage as a distinctive movement within Chinese Buddhism. Even if it is taken for granted that such a thing as a Ch'an lineage of Dharma transmission really existed, in other words, there is a need felt on the part of the historian who would study that lineage to define it in terms of concrete phenomena such as doctrines, practices, and institutions. Such a need, I shall argue in Chapter Eight, was probably felt by the Sung historiographers who seized on the sketchy story of Pai-chang the monastic legislator contained in the *Ch'an-men*

kuei-shih and, through numerous repetitions and embellishments, established it as an event of unquestioned historicity and utmost significance in the emergence of the Ch'an lineage as an independent entity.

As we saw in the previous section, however, all attempts to formulate real definitions of the Ch'an lineage or Ch'an school run afoul of the fact that the membership of that school, as it is generally understood (lexically defined), simply does not hold any single doctrine or approach to religious practice in common. Apart from the concept of "Dharma inheritance," in other words, there is nothing that unifies the Ch'an lineage for the historian. But a real definition which describes the Ch'an school as a lineage of Dharma transmission is clearly out of the question for critical historians, who simply cannot deal with the transmission of the "mind of Buddha" as if it were an ordinary verifiable fact.

The solution to this problem, I would submit, is just for historians to give up attempts to formulate a real definition of the Ch'an school, and learn to conduct their research within the limits of nominal definition. This means, in the first place, engaging in careful lexical study to determine how different people at different times have understood the term "Ch'an lineage," and secondly, choosing a stipulative definition to guide ones's historical research on the "Ch'an school." To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever explicitly formulated a stipulative definition of the Ch'an school as an object of historical study. A stipulative definition is precisely what is needed, however, if critical scholarship is ever to extricate itself from the confusion occasioned by the lexical ambiguities of the words *ch'an* and *ch'an-tsung*, and from the sectarian biases that have informed most real definitions of *ch'an* and *ch'an-tsung*.

Stipulative definition, we have seen, is essentially an arbitrary process. This does not mean, however, that it necessarily ignores the lexical meanings of the term in question. I would like to stipulate a meaning for the term "Ch'an school"

("Ch'an" for short) so that I may have an unambiguous frame of reference for investigating the question of early Ch'an monastic institutions in Part Two of this dissertation. At the same time, I would like to stipulate a definition that coincides in some way with the lexical meanings of "Ch'an lineage," so that my research may relate to work done by other scholars on the "history of the Ch'an lineage."

One possibility that occurred to me was to define the "Ch'an school" as the class of persons in Chinese history, chiefly members of the Buddhist clergy, who *considered themselves* heirs to a Dharma lineage that they claimed was established in China by a first ancestor Bodhidharma. By definition, this Ch'an school would be viewed as coming into existence at the point when a group or groups of persons became conscious of themselves, whether erroneously or not, as belonging to a distinct tradition founded by Bodhidharma. Exactly when this first happened is open to debate, but a good case has been made that it was sometime between Tao-hsüan's death in 667 and the compilatio of the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* shortly after 706.[194] One implication of this definition would be that Bodhidharma and perhaps other early ancestral teachers named in the traditional Ch'an lineage could not be shown to be members of the Ch'an school. It would be legitimate to speak of the influence that Bodhidharma's or Tao-hsin's teachings had on the Ch'an school, but there would be no a priori reason to limit the search for the historical origins of Ch'an school doctrines or practices to Bodhidharma and other figures mentioned in the lamp histories. Nor, of course, would there be any reason to assume that all members of the Ch'an school shared any practices or doctrines other than the belief in Bodhidharma's lineage.

Upon further reflection, however, I have decided not to define the Ch'an school in terms of self-conscious claims to membership in Bodhidharma's lineage. To do so would put the onerous burden on the historian of proving that numerous figures traditionally associated with the Ch'an lineage either did or did not conceive of themselves as Bodhidharma's heirs, a

difficult if not impossible task in those many cases where no authentic autobiographical writings exist. The outcome of such an effort, no doubt, would be a Ch'an school whose membership was so configured as to bear little resemblance to what historians are now accustomed to calling the Ch'an lineage.

The definition I would like to stipulate is as follows: I shall regard the Chinese "Ch'an school" as being comprised of all persons in the history of China who are named in any works of history (ancient or modern) as belonging to a Ch'an lineage (*ch'an-tsung*; *zenshū*) deriving from Bodhidharma. This definition does *not* take any of the following things about the Ch'an school as given: that its members were all real, as opposed to mythical, persons; that its members held any particular teaching, practice, trait or experience in common; that its members formed any sort of formal organization or had any informal association with one another. All of these things, according to my definition, remain to be proven or disproven about the Ch'an school.

Notes to Chapter V

1 Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, pp. 3, 8. For a bibliography of Tun-huang materials "related to the Ch'an lineage," see Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, pp. 51–53 (in appendices).

2 For some reason, this book seems to have been completed and typeset (in pre-war characters) in 1930, but never actually published until 1969; the title page, at least, gives no earlier date of publication, and indicates that publication was authorized by Okada Kishō (the author's son?). Perhaps the author first became aware of the Tun-huang "Ch'an" documents when Yabuki Keiki published his *Meisha yoin* in 1930, and aborted the publication of his own work, which was instantly outdated.

3 In his opening chapter Okada states that he adopts the standpoint of a "critical" (*hihanteki*) research method rather than an "orthodox, traditional" (*shōtōteki, sojutsuteki*) approach; his description makes it clear that by "critical research methods" he means the methods of the disciplines of philology, history of religions, psychology of religion, philosophy, sociology, etc., that Japan had recently borrowed from the West (*Zengaku kenkyūhō to sono shiryō*, pp. 4–8).

4 All of these texts are discussed, and sources given, in Chapter Six below.

5 Tsan-ning, for example, is remembered as a Vinaya master; the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* includes a T'ien-t'ai Dharma lineage (T 49 [no. 2035], p. 132).

6 Okada, *Zengaku kenkyūhō*, pp. 13–19.

7 Ibid, p. 15.

8 Ibid, p. 88.

9 Thus, for example, Okada noted that the doctrine of the "priority of the precepts" expressed in the *shou-chiai* section of the *Ch'an-yuan ch'ing-kuei* (see p. 83 above for a translation) and echoed in the *jukai* section of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*, found a precedent in the *Fan-wang ching* and in various sections of the Chinese Āgamas that he cites (ibid, pp. 100–102).

10 For a list of the five types of *ch'an* presented in Tsung-mi's *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü*, see p. 136 above.

11 On this issue see Robert M. Gimello, "Early Hua-yen, Meditation, and Early Ch'an: Some Preliminary Considerations."

12 Okada, p. 282.

13 Ibid, p. 296.

14 Ibid, p. 379.

15 There is no evidence that Okada's position on this was based on any conscious adoption of the Hua-yen categories of *li* and *shih*, but a polarity of this sort is implicit in his interpretation of the relationship between Ch'an *kyōri* and *gyōji*.

16 Okada, p. 297.

17 Ibid.

18 These studies are reviewed in Chapter Seven.

19 The ritual in question is the "ceremony of Dharma transmission in the [privacy of the master's] room" (*denbō shitsunai shiki*). The documents that are given to the recipient of transmission during this ceremony, together with detailed explanations of their esoteric meaning, are the "inheritance certificate" (*shisho*), "lineage [chart]" (*kechimyaku*), and the so-called "great matter" (*daiji*). The last is a set of esoteric diagrams which comprise a symbolic metaphysical schema in which such principles as mind, various Buddhas, nirvana, and emptiness are correlated. These three documents are referred to collectively as the "three objects" (*sanmotsu*) or "three veins" (*sanmyaku*). For diagrams and a complete explanation see Sōtōshū shūmuchō, ed., *Denbō shitsunai yōten*, pp. 87-154.

20 Okada, p. 481.

21 Ibid, pp. 570 *ff*.

22 For a discussion of the "joint practice of Pure Land and Ch'an" in the late Ming, and the Japanese Rinzai Zen master Hakuin's virulent criticism of it, see Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China*, pp. 29-39.

23 D.T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), p. 169.

24 Yanagida, we have noted (pp. 123-126 above), sees an evolution in the understanding of dhyāna which actually culminates in the rejection of seated dhyāna itself, but he nevertheless views the process leading up to that radical disjuncture as something that can be traced back to the Indian Buddhist tradition.

25 Suzuki, *Essays* (First Series), p. 169.

26 As the result of these developments, there are today six major collections of Tun-huang documents: (1) the Stein collection at the British Museum in London; (2) the Pelliot collection at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris; (3) the Peking collection at the National Peking Library (Kuo-li Pei-

ching T'u-shu-kuan); (4) the Ōtani collection, housed mainly in the libraries of Ōtani and Ryūkoku universities in Kyoto; (5) the Oldenberg collection in Leningrad; and (6) the Taiwan collection at the National Central Museum (*Kuo-li Chung-yang T'u-shu-kuan*) in Taipei ((Tanaka, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, pp. 4-7).

27 For an account of Yabuki's pioneering work on Tun-huang Ch'an texts, see Yanagida Seizan, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," in Shinohara and Tanaka, eds., *Tonkō butten to zen*, pp. 3-17.

28 The seven "Ch'an" texts among the 132 Tun-huang documents copied by Yabuki in 1916 and listed in his *Shutain-shi shūshū tonkō chihō shutsu kosha butten rōtogurafu kaisetsu mokuroku* (*An Explanatory Catalogue of the Rotograph Copies of Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts Uncovered in the Area of Tun-huang and Collected by Mr. Stein*) were the following:

(1) the *Ch'an-yao ching*, also entitled the *Ch'an-men ching ping-hsü* (S 5532); Yabuki likened the text to the *Ch'an-fa yao-chiai* (T 15 [no. 616]), translated by Kumārajīva (344-413), and the *Ch'an-yao ching* (T 15 [no. 609]), both of which describe traditional Indian methods of dhyāna such as the contemplation of impurity and the "four unlimiteds" (*brahmavihāras*). However, the *Ch'an-men ching* (as scholars now call it) has been recognized since 1961 as a "Ch'an text" (*zenseki*) which teaches the doctrine of sudden enlightenment (*tun-wu*) and was produced by the Northern school in order to forge a link with Bodhidharma (Yanagida, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," p. 8); *Zengaku daijiten* 2:704c [s.v. *zenmonkyō*]);

(2) the *Ta-cheng wu-sheng fang-pien men* (S 2503; T 85 [no. 2834]); Yabuki identified this text as a "Ch'an school dialogue" (*zenke no mondō*); it is now regarded as a Northern lineage work;

(3) the *Ta-cheng pei-tsung lun* (S 2581; T 85 [no. 2836]); Yabuki does not seem to have suspected that the "northern lineage" (*pei-tsung*) referred to in the title was the so-called Northern lineage of Ch'an; Ui Hakuju later argued that the text represented not only the position of the Northern school, but specifically the teachings of Shen-hsiu (Yanagida, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," p. 9);

(4) the *Kuan-hsin lun* (S 2595); Yabuki merely noted that this was not the same as the text by the same title authored by T'ien-t'ai Chih-i; the *Kuan-hsin lun* has since been identified as a work by Shen-hsiu of the Northern lineage (Yanagida, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," p. 10);

(5) --- *lun* (title mutilated) (S 2715); this work was later determined by D.T. Suzuki to be a recension of the *Erh-ju ssu-hsing ch'ang-chüan-tzu*, which includes Bodhidharma's *Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun* (Yanagida, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," p. 10);

(6) the *P'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men* (S 2583);

(7) the *Ch'eng-hsin lun* (now lost; corresponds to S 2669, S 3558, S 4064, P 3434, P 3777, Peking manuscript *shang* 75, Ryūkoku University library manuscript).

29 S 2054; T 85 (no. 2837).

30 S 516.

31 T 85 (no. 2838).

32 T 85 (no. 2861).

33 S 5619.

34 Ibid.

35 T 85 (no. 2835).

36 T 85 (no. 2832).

37 T 85 (no. 2833).

38 The first three of these texts have already been discussed in some detail in Chapter 4 (pp. 101–107 above). The fourth, the *Ch'üan-chou ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu-tsu-shih sung*, is a lamp history which gives the Hung-chou school's version of the Ch'an lineage; it is closely related to the *Pao-lin chuan*, which shares (borrows?) the same verses on each ancestor (*Zengaku daijiten*, s.v. *senshū senbutsu shincho shososhi ju* [2: 686a]).

39 See p. 102 above.

40 There is no record of the *Shao-shih liu-men* (T 48 [no. 2009]) being transmitted in China, however; the oldest recension of the text is the Japanese *Gozan* edition (*Zengaku daijiten*, s.v. *Shōshitsu rokumon shū* [1:550d]). The text corresponding to the *Kuan-shin lun* is the second of the six works in the *Shao-shih liu-men*, entitled the *P'o-hsiang lun* (T 48 [no. 2009], pp. 366c–369c). The *P'o-hsiang lun* is also found in the *Daruma sanron*, a Japanese collection of three works attributed to Bodhidharma (*Zengaku daijiten*, s.v. *Daruma sanron* [2:832c]).

41 Yabuki, *Meisha yoin kaisetsu*, p. 540 (cited in Tanaka, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, p. 238).

42 *Zengaku daijiten*, s.v. *Mushinron* (2:1208d).

43 Ibid, s.v. *Kenshūki* (1:286b).

44 Tanaka, p. 222.

45 *Zengaku daijiten*, s.v. *Kanjinron* (1: 182c). Yanagida, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," p. 10).

46 Tanaka, pp. 238 ff.

47 Authorship may be determined, for example, from the listing of a text and its author in a catalogue, as was the case with Shen-hsiu's *Kuan-hsin lun* (see note 45 above).

48 Tanaka, p. 8.

[49] Ibid, p. 23 ff.

[50] T 50 (no. 2058).

[51] Tanaka, pp. 61-62, 72; see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 8 for the respective lists patriarchs found in these texts.

[52] Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, p. 142; cited by Tanaka, p. 64.

[53] Cited in P 3913.

[54] P 3913.

[55] Tanaka, pp. 101-104, 135-166.

[56] Tanaka, p. 8.

[57] The texts in question are the (1) *Erh-ju ssu-hsing ch'ang-chüan-tzu* (S 2715, Peking *su* 99), (2) *T'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih lun* (P 2039), and (3) *Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men* (S 2583, T 85 (no. 2832), S 2669, S 6958, *Kuan-men fa ta-ch'eng fa lun* in the Ryūkoku University collection).

[58] The texts in question are the (1) *Ta-ch'eng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun (P 2162, T 85 (no. 2835), S 4286, and (2) Ch'ing-erh ho-shang shang ta ch'an ts'e shih tao* (S 4113).

[59] Tanaka, pp. 230-233, 508.

[60] The orginal text appears in Tanaka, p. 215-216.

[61] Ibid, p. 216.

[62] See pp. 122-123 above.

[63] See *Tonkō zenshū bunken*, p. 225 for Tanaka's thoughts on the "mixture" of Bodhidharma's pure Ch'an with Pure Land *nien-fo* practice.

[64] Ibid, p. 8.

[65] Tanaka refers to these as by "Zen monks" in his English summary (Ibid, p. 17).

[66] Ibid.

[67] S 2165, S 5692; see Tanaka p. 285.

[68] T 50 (no. 2060), p. 482a.

[69] T 51 (no. 2076), p. 458a.

[70] T 51 (no. 2060), pp. 449a.

[71] Ibid, pp. 449a, 456c.

[72] Tanaka, p. 8.

[73] The long scroll in question is the *Si-t'ien-chu-kuo sha-men p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men*, held at Ryūkoku University; see Tanaka, p. 345.

[74] S 2669; see Tanaka, p. 345.

75 Suzuki, *Zen shisō shi kenkyū dai ni* (*Suzuki Daisetsu zenshū*, vol. 2), p. 215.

76 Tanaka, p. 346.

77 Ibid, p. 347.

78 S 2944; P 3357; P 4597.

79 P 3215; P 3373; P 4805.

80 S 5531; P 2841; Peking *chih* 74, *kuan* 93, *lung* 82, *yü* 58, *shang* 66; Leningrad 1140; Leningrad 1337.

81 Contained in P 3861.

82 Tanaka, pp. 358 ff.

83 The passage as it appears in the *San-k'o fa-i* and *Ta-ch'eng san-k'o* may be found in Tanaka, p. 371; cp. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra* (Chinese) p. 8 (section 19); the corresponding passages in Shen-hui's works are cited in Tanaka, p. 385.

84 Jeffrey Broughton, "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet," p. 3.

85 Tanaka, p. 359.

86 S 6184; P 3559; P 3664; Peking *fu* 6; Ishii collection.

87 T 85 (no. 2901); for a list of the numerous other Tun-huang manuscipts of this text, see Tanaka, pp. 402–406.

88 T 85 (no. 2902).

89 Tanaka, pp. 406–407.

90 Okimoto Katsumi, "Tonkō shutsudo no chibetto bun zenshū bunken no naiyō," in Shinohara and Tanaka, eds., *Tonkō butten to zen*, pp. 409–440; Kimura Ryūtoku, "Tonkō shutsudo no chibetto bun zenshū bunken no seikaku," in ibid, pp. 441–466; Ueyama Daishun, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts Recovered from Tun-huang: A Review of the Field and its Prospects," in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 327–349.

91 Okimoto, in *Tonkō butten to zen*, pp. 412–414.

92 Ibid, pp. 413–431.

93 For a detailed discussion of these, see Luis O. Gomez, "The Direct and Gradual Approaches of Zen Master Mahāyāna: Fragments of the Teachings of Mo-ho-yen," in Gimello and Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, pp. 69–167.

94 These are discussed on pp. 188–191 above.

95 Kimura, op. cit, in Shinohara and Tanaka, eds., *Tonkō butten to zen*, p. 442.

96 Ibid, pp. 444–447.

97 Ibid, pp. 455–456.

98 Ibid, pp. 447–448.

99 Ibid, pp. 452–455.

100 Ueyama, op. cit., in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an*, pp. 338.

101 Ibid, pp. 344, 349 (note 30).

102 See note 97 above.

103 Ueyama, pp. 344, 349 (note 32).

104 See, for example, Okimoto, p. 426; Kimura, p. 441.

105 Gomez, "The Direct and Gradual Approaches of Zen Master Mahāyāna," in Gimello and Gregory, eds., *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, pp. 74, 108–109.

106 My remarks in this section are partially based on Tanaka Ryōshō's survey of the field of Tun-huang Ch'an studies, (*Tonkō zenshū butten no kenkyū*, pp. 8–18); on Suzuki Tetsuo's survey of major Japanese language works on the history Ch'an (*Tō godai no zenshū*, pp. v–vii); and on Yanagida Seizan, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki."

107 For a list of these documents, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 24, note 67.

108 *Hu Shih wen-ts'un*, IV, pp. 236–244; included in Yanagida, ed., *Koteki sengaku an*, pp. 144–152.

109 *Hu Shih wen-ts'un*, IV, pp. 194–235; included in Yanagida, ed., *Koteki sengaku an*, pp. 154–195.

110 D.T. Suzuki, in recalling his first meeting with Hu Shih in 1934, wrote: "Mr. Hu said, 'I have published my *Shen-hui i-chi*, but not a single scholar in my own country [China] has responded to it'...." (cited in Yanagida Seizan, "Koteki hakushi to chūgoku shoki zenshū shi no kenkyū," p. 33).

111 Hu-shih's work inspired European scholars such as Walter Liebenthal, Jacques Gernet, and Paul Demieville to study the teachings of Shen-hui (Yanagida, "Koteki hakushi," pp. 33, 42-3); for a list of these scholars' contributions, see Yampolsky's bibliography (*The Platform Sutra*, pp. 197–204).

112 Yanagida, in defense of Suzuki, expresses a similar sentiment in "Koteki hakushi," p. 29.

113 D.T. Suzuki, *Living by Zen* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1930), p. 20; cited by Hu Shih in "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," p. 3.

114 Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," p. 499.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid.

117 Reproduced in Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Koteki sengaku*

an, p. 32.

118 Ibid, p. 724.

119 Suzuki sent a copy of his *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* to Hu-shih in 1931. Upon reading it, Hu-shih, who had found Tun-huang manuscripts of the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* (P 3436 and S 2054) in Paris and London, took issue with Suzuki's acceptance of the traditional history of Ch'an. As Yanagida points out, two articles that Hu-shih wrote subsequently, entitled "*Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* hsü" and "Leng-chia-tsung k'ao," can be seen as a criticism of the traditional view of the history of the early Ch'an school that was expressed in Suzuki's *Studies* ("Koteki hakushi," p. 38).

120 Yanagida, "Koteki hakushi," p. 32.

121 See, for example, Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, p. 91

122 Matsumoto Bunsaburō, "Rokuso dankyō no shoshigakuteki kenkyū," in *Zengaku kenkyū*, 17 & 18 (March & July, 1932).

123 Kuno Hōryū, "Ryūdōsei ni tomu tōdai no zenshū tenseki: tonkō shutsudo hon ni okeru nanzen hokushū no daihyōteki sakuhin," in *Shūkyō kenkyū*, new series, 13:1 (Feb., 1937); "Hokushū zen," in *Taishō daigaku gakuhō*, no. 30-31 (March, 1940), pp. 131-176.

124 Masunaga Reihō, *Zenjō shisō shi* (Tokyo, 1944); idem, "Koitsu sho zenseki no kenkyū," in *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō*, no. 15 (Sept., 1950).

125 Mizuno Kōgen, "Zenshū seiritsu izen no shina no zenjō shisō shi jōsetsu."

126 Mizuno, "Bodaidaruma no ninyūshigyō setsu to kongōzanmaikyō," in *Komazawa daigaku bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, 13 (March, 1955); idem, "Gisaku no hokkukyō," in ibid, 19 (March, 1961); see pp. 117 ff. above for a discussion of these texts.

127 S 2715; S 3375; S 7159; P 2923; P 3018; P 4634; P 4795; Peking *su* 99.

128 Hashimoto collection; included in Sekiguchi, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, pp. 463-468.

129 For example, Sekiguchi argues that the *Chüeh-kuan lun*, if it was not actually written by Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, at least circulated under his name before it came to be attributed to Bodhidharma (Sekiguchi, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, p. 11); the *Ch'eng-hsin lun*, another "Bodhidharma treatise," was also attributed to (and probably written by) Chih-i (ibid, pp. 246-253.

130 Idem, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, pp. 309-313.

131 Idem, *Zenshū shisō shi*, pp. 211-217; Sekiguchi's position on this issue is discussed and evaluated on pp. 110-114 above.

132 Idem, "Jo" ("Preface"), in *Zenshū shisō shi*.

133 Idem, *Daruma daishi no kenkyū*, p. 430.

134 Hu-shih describes Bodhidharma as just one figure in a broad meditation movement in China, which represented a reaction against Indian Buddhism ("Development of Zen Buddhism in China," pp. 486-492. Sekiguchi, of course, stresses the T'ien-t'ai contribution to this movement.

135 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, pp. 461-484. It is evident from the issues raised in these two sections and in the preceding two sections of the chapter entitled "Ch'an and the Ch'an Lineage" ("Zen to zenshū") that Yanagida was concerned with rebutting specific points made in Sekiguchi's *Zenshū shisō shi*. Yanagida's and Sekiguchi's differences on the question of when the term "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) came into use are discussed in Chapter Four, pp. 110-114 above.

136 Yanagida, *Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, p. 461; p. 465.

137 Ibid, p. 462.

138 Ibid, pp. 463, 472.

139 Ibid, p. 463.

140 Ibid, pp. 463, 472.

141 Ibid, pp. 463-464.

142 Richard Robinson, *Definition*.

143 Robinson, p. 8.

144 Ibid, p. 16.

145 Ibid, p. 190.

146 Ibid, pp. 189-190.

147 Ibid, p. 154.

148 Ibid, p. 155.

149 Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 3:2965b (s.v. *zenshū*).

150 Robinson, pp. 156-157.

151 Ui Hakuju, *Bukkyō jiten* (Tokyo: Tōyō Shuppansha, 1953), p. 647 (s.v. *zenshū*).

152 Robinson, p. 166.

153 Ibid, p. 167; quote from Karl Marx, *Capital* I, ch. I.

154 Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyōgo daijiten*, p. 854a (s.v., *zenshū*).

155 *Zengaku daijiten*, 2:686b (s.v. *zenshū*).

156 Robinson, pp. 151-152.

157 See p. 171-172 above.

158 Yanagida Seizan, "Tonkō no zenseki to Yabuki Keiki," in Shinohara and Tanaka, eds., *Tonkō butten to zen*, p. 5.

159 Ibid, p. 15.

160 Chün-fan Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis*, pp. 4–5; see also ibid, pp. 73–74.

161 Ibid, pp. 73–74.

162 See pp. 127–129 above.

163 Yü, p. 74.

164 Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in T'ang Buddhism," in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, eds., *Perspectives on the T'ang*, p. 268.

165 See pp. 136–137 above.

166 Sekiguchi Shindai, *Shikan no kenkyū*, p. 111.

167 T 48 (no. 2015), p. 400c; translation by Jeffrey Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings*, p. 117–118.

168 ZZ 1-14-3, pp. 277c–280a.

169 Ibid, p. 278c.

170 Ibid, p. 278d.

171 Ibid; translated by Jan Yün-hua, "Tsung-mi: His Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," p. 45.

172 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279d.

173 Ibid, p. 279a–b.

174 Ibid, p. 279b–c.

175 Ibid, p. 279c.

176 See pp. 135–137 above.

177 Yanagida Seizan, *Shoki no zenshi* Vol. I, p. 3–4.

178 See pp. 54–55 above.

179 Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," in Nishitani, ed., *Zen no rekishi: Chūgoku*, p. 8.

180 Tanaka Ryōshō, *Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū*, p. 638.

181 T 48 (no. 2015), p. 399b.

182 Philip Yampolsky, "New Japanese Studies in Early Ch'an History," in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an*, p. 9.

183 See pp. 196–197 above.

184 Hu Shih, "Development of Zen Buddhism in China," in *The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, 15:4 (Jan., 1932), p. 485.

185 Ibid, p. 483.

186 Yanagida Seizan, "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi* and the

Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an*, pp. 15-16.

[187] See pp. 172-173 above.

[188] See pp. 206-207 above.

[189] Sekiguchi Shindai, *Zenshū shisō shi*, p. 215.

[190] Yanagida Seizan, "Baso zen no sho mondai," in IBK, 17.1 (Dec., 1969), p. 33.

[191] Okomoto Katsumi, "Shingi kenkyū nōto," in Sasaki Kyōgo, ed., *Kairitsu shisō no kenkyū*, pp. 407-408. My analysis of Yanagida's "Baso zen no shomondai" is based on Okimoto.

[192] Ibid, p. 408.

[193] Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," in Nishitani, ed., *Zen no rekishi: Chūgoku*, pp. 48-49.

[194] Philip Yamplosky, *The Platform Sutra*, p. 11; Yanagida Seizan, "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi* and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an*, p. 17.

PART TWO

TOWARDS AN INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF EARLY CH'AN

INTRODUCTION

Having reviewed the lexical meanings of terms such as *ch'an*, *ch'an-tsung*, *ch'an-men* and *ch'an-yüan*, and having examined the various ways in which modern scholars have conceived of the Ch'an school as an object of historical study, we are ready to address the questions concerning early Ch'an monastic institutions that were raised in the General Introduction to this dissertation.

The fundamental issue to be treated in Part Two can be summed up in one broad question: what was the institutional organization of the early Ch'an school? Or, to put the same question somewhat differently, what were the immediate institutional surroundings in which members of the Ch'an school flourished in the T'ang? The question should not be construed as assuming that the early Ch'an school necessarily had a distinctive institutional structure, or indeed any institutional structure at all. The question allows as many hypothetical answers as one can imagine. Perhaps some of the persons whom historians have identified as Ch'an monks were solitary hermits. Or, there may have been permanent or semi-permanent congregations of Ch'an monks. Ch'an monks in the T'ang may have lived and pursued their religious ideals in monasteries occupied exclusively by themselves, or they may have shared monastery facilities with other (non-Ch'an) monks. The monasteries where Ch'an monks flourished may or may not have been organized in some unique fashion that distinguished them from other monasteries. Moreover, just as there is no reason to assume that all members of the Ch'an school (as I have defined it) subscribed to the same doctrines or took the same approach to religious practice, there is no reason to assume that the question I have

raised concerning Ch'an institutions has any one answer. As likely as not, research on the institutional history of the early Ch'an school will reveal that Ch'an monks thrived in a variety of institutional and extra-institutional settings.

The problem of the existence of early Ch'an monastic institutions must be addressed within the framework of the broader question just discussed. Let us suppose, however, that historical evidence can be found to support the thesis that various groups of Ch'an monks congregated together in their own monasteries under the leadership of an eminent Ch'an master. Tsung-mi's description of the practices followed by certain "houses" of Ch'an, for example, suggests that this was sometimes the case. We would then have established that there were Buddhist monasteries dominated by members of the Ch'an school, but would not yet be in a position to speak of a distinctively "Ch'an" system of monastic organization. Before arriving at the conclusion that there were such a thing as Ch'an monastic institutions in the T'ang, it would be necessary, first, to construct a picture of the actual organization and operation of monasteries known to be dominated by the members of the Ch'an school, and second, to demonstrate that the institutional arrangement of those monasteries was in some way unique (i.e. unknown in Buddhist monasteries generally).

Whether or not this approach can discover any historical phenomena worthy of being labeled "Ch'an" monastic institutions, I am convinced that it is the only objective way for the historian to proceed. It is imperative that we set aside all preconceived notions about the "essential characteristics" of Ch'an monasticism, lest we end up reading religious ideals and polemical claims that derive from the Sung historiography and the later Ch'an and Zen traditions back into the T'ang as historical facts. In order to decide whether or not the Ch'an school in the T'ang ever constituted an independent sect (in the technical sense of the term), it is necessary to *first* answer the question that was raised above about the existence of distinctive Ch'an institutions. The tendency to think of the

early Ch'an school as a sect must be bracketed and set aside as hypothetical before analyzing the historical data, lest it prejudice the case by influencing the selection of evidence. By assuming the sectarian nature of Ch'an, historians have tended to overlook the very sources that would prove otherwise, regarding them as "non-Ch'an" and thus irrelevant.

As I pointed out in the General Introduction, scholars have been virtually unanimous in describing the early Ch'an school as a sectarian movement which developed its own monastic institutions in opposition to and isolation from the mainstream of Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions. The evidence that is adduced in support this theory, however, is largely inadmissible. Much of it is grounded in the false assumption that protests in the areas of doctrine and cult, for which there is ample evidence in the lamp histories and recorded sayings literature, are proof that the Ch'an school in the T'ang was a schismatic movement that must have formed separate monastic communities. The fact that doctrines such as "not depending on texts" were current among Ch'annists in the T'ang, moreover, is wrongly taken as historical evidence that the Ch'an school eschewed mainstream Buddhist monastic centers where texts were translated and lectured on. The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, of course, seems to offer hard evidence pertaining not only to the existence, but to the actual arrangement of Ch'an monasteries in the ninth century. Here again, however, we need to be aware of the possibility that although the text is cast in the form of a historical account, its contents may be of the nature of religious doctrine.

Teachings and statements of doctrine, even if (as is often the case with Ch'an) they are couched in very down-to-earth language, or take the form of biographical anecdotes, cannot be treated as straightforward empirical evidence relating to the historical practice of a religion. Without a doubt, non-attachment to the institutionalized forms of Buddhist practice was a recurring theme in the teachings of T'ang Ch'an masters. How the ideal of non-attachment expressed in their iconoclastic

rhetoric and unconventional gestures was worked out in actual practice in various Ch'an communities in the T'ang, however, is another question. If, as one well known anecdote would have it, the Ch'an master Tan-hsia T'ien-jan (738-824) once used a wooden Buddha image to build a fire,[1] can we infer that his followers made a practice of traveling about destroying Buddhist iconography? Or, on the reasonable assumption that Tan-hsia's act was a dramatic, symbolic one, can we determine that his followers left images physically unharmed, but declined to join their fellow Buddhists in making prostrations and worshiping before altars? Or, again, may we conclude that they participated in the conventional modes of worship, but with the understanding that Buddhas in truth have no existence apart from one's own mind? The answer in every case is "no." Such inferential leaps from teaching to practice do not lead to tenable historical conclusions; they do produce a number of equally viable hypotheses which need to be proven or disproven on the basis of further concrete historical evidence.

The meaning or doctrinal significance of the Tan-hsia anecdote may strike one at first as being perfectly clear. D. T. Suzuki, for example, takes it for granted that the story represents a rejection of idolatry on the spiritual plane, and that it is not to be understood literally as an endorsement of such sacrilegious activities as destroying images.[2] Hu Shih, on the other hand, thinks it is equally obvious that the anecdote reveals the literal iconoclasm of Chinese Ch'an, pure and simple. He criticizes Suzuki for reading his own piety into the anecdote, and makes the point that "such a story can be properly understood only in light of the general intellectual tendencies of a revolutionary age."[3] Hu Shih's point is well taken, but by stressing only intellectual history and ignoring the institutional history of Ch'an, I would argue, it does not go far enough. Both Suzuki and Hu Shih can agree that, as a *doctrinal* statement, the Tan-hsia story represents some sort of iconoclasm. But whose instincts about the real nature of this iconoclasm are correct? It should be evident that if we do not know

what the implications of Tan-hsia's act were in terms of the actual daily practice of Ch'an (his own and his followers), then in fact we are not sure what he meant to convey with this gesture. One might, of course, conclude that the Tan-hsia story is hagiographical, and that it has no basis in any historical occurrence. Be that as it may, my point still holds. We cannot appreciate the didactic or doctrinal intention behind the composition, transmission and use of such anecdotes (as koans, for example) unless we know something of the institutional setting in which they were handed down.

An accurate picture of the organization and everyday practice of a religion at any given stage in its history is a prerequisite for grasping the significance of its teachings current at that time. This is especially true if the teachings are apparently iconoclastic or antinomian, as is frequently the case with Ch'an. The context in which the rhetoric of the ancient masters was originally delivered, or cited (with or without any basis in historical fact) by later teachers, is often the key to its intended meaning.

Suppose, to cite one other example, we want to know the meaning of the famous anecdote in which Nan-yüeh Huai-jang (677-744) told his disciple Ma-tsu Tao-i (709-788) that sitting in dhyāna to try to become a Buddha is like rubbing a tile to turn it into a mirror.[4] Are we to understand this as a categorical rejection of dhyāna as a method of practice, or rather as advice on the proper mental attitude (for example, that of not seeking to become anything other than what one already is) with which to practice dhyāna? Setting aside the problem of the historicity of the anecdote (which may be insoluble), we can say that what it meant when it first became popular as a teaching device (a date which can be approximated on the grounds of textual evidence) is contingent upon an important bit of factual information: were Ch'an monks at that time actually sitting in dhyāna as a regular form of practice or not? Obviously, the anecdote itself must remain inadmissible as evidence either for or against the actual historical practice of meditation, be-

cause until that factual issue is settled, we cannot be sure what it was meant to convey.

In the final analysis, it may be said that in the history of religions, studies of doctrine, cultic expression (practice) and organizational structure must complement and counterbalance each other. If these areas of research are too isolated, or if an attempt is made to simply extrapolate one from another, the risk of serious distortion is great. The institutional history of Ch'an, as I see it, is concerned primarily with the organization of the ecclesiastical (monastic) bodies in which Ch'an teachers flourished, and with the institutionalized forms of religious practice engaged in by adherents of the Ch'an school. Much more research in these areas is needed to balance the considerable work that has been done in the history of Ch'an thought.

My aim in this second part of the dissertation is not to provide a definitive answer to the question of the institutional organization of the early Ch'an school. My main concern, rather, is to elucidate the problems posed by the nature of the available historical sources, and to propose a method for studying the institutional history of early Ch'an. The systematic application of this method to all of the source materials is a undertaking that will have to await some later occasion.

Part Two consists of three chapters. Chapter Six is dedicated to a survey of the historical sources that are available for an institutional history of the early Ch'an school, and a discussion of theoretical and methodological issues in the study of the institutional history of early Ch'an. Chapter Seven reviews existing scholarship on early Ch'an institutions. Chapter Eight, finally, presents an in-depth study of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, the single most important source for an institutional history of the Ch'an school in the T'ang.

Notes to the Introduction

1 This anecdote is found in the *Wu-teng hui-yüan* (ZZ 2B-10-5); for English translations, see Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China," p. 16; Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), p. 330.

2 Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), p. 331.

3 Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China," p. 16.

4 This anecdote appears in fascicle 5 of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (T 51 [no. 2067] p. 240c); for a translation, see Heinrich Dumoulin, *The Development of Chinese Zen* (New York: The First Zen Institute of America, 1953), pp. 51-52.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORICAL SOURCES AND APPROACHES

The two most serious obstacles to research in the institutional history of early Ch'an are the paucity and the unreliability of historical sources that focus explicitly on the institutional surroundings in which Ch'an monks in the T'ang lived and worked. In order to illustrate the nature of the problem, let us consider three hypothetical categories of source materials that the historian of early (pre-Sung) Ch'an institutions might hope to draw on. This will provide a framework for discussing the sources that actually exist. The first hypothetical category is that of sources dating from the T'ang or Five Dynasties that explicitly describe the arrangement of contempory "Ch'an school" monasteries, communities of Ch'an monks, or the circumstances in which Ch'an monks chose to live. The second category consists of sources dating from the Sung and Yüan that explicitly describe the institutional surroundings of Ch'an monks in the T'ang and Five Dynasties. The third category is that of sources dating from the Sung and Yüan that explicitly describe or prescribe rules for the Ch'an monastic institutions of their own day.

Needless to say, any source materials that could confidently be placed into the first category would be of the greatest historical value. The possibility that such sources had a hidden polemical agenda could not be ruled out, of course. But the historian would at least have some positive indication that there were phenomena in the T'ang that might legitimately be considered "Ch'an" institutions, or that matters of institutional arrangement were of central concern to some Ch'an monks

at the time.

Materials falling into the second category would also be potentially useful, but the historian would have to find some way to verify the claims made by the Sung and Yüan historiographers, preferably using T'ang sources. He would have to be especially mindful of the possibility that quasi-historical records pretending to describe events in the T'ang were fabricated later for religious or political reasons.

Finally, materials falling into the third category might be deemed useful on the grounds that the Sung Ch'an monasteries depicted in them represent a later or more developed form of a basic Ch'an institutional arrangement that existed in the T'ang. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, a number of scholars have in fact tried to use the Sung and Yüan monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*) in various ways as sources for reconstructing the arrangement of Ch'an monastic institutions in the T'ang. Such an approach, however, is fundamentally flawed. It assumes the existence of sectarian Ch'an institutions in the T'ang, and a unilinear process of evolution connecting those institutions with Sung Ch'an monasteries. Both assumptions remain to be proven. The question of the origins of Sung Ch'an monasticism is an important one, and the process of answering it can certainly shed light on the question of T'ang Ch'an instititutions. At root, however, these are two different issues. They must not be confused, and should be approached separately, especially in the early stages of research. The third category of materials must therefore be ruled out as direct sources for the institutional history of early (pre-Sung) Ch'an.

Unfortunately, as this chapter will bear out, when the third category of source materials is removed from consideration, very little remains in the way of explicit sources for the study of early Ch'an institutions. This means that if we are going to determine the nature of the institutional settings in which Ch'an monks formulated their teachings and practiced their religion, we must rely on sources that do not focus on matters of institutional organization, but nevertheless contain

clues as to the surroundings in which Ch'an monks flourished. Such sources might include "lamp histories," "recorded sayings," koan collections, the texts of memorial steles, and any other texts in which Ch'an monks are depicted, albeit incidentally, in an institutional (or extra-institutional) setting.

Needless to say, such sources do not lend themselves readily to the purposes of the institutional historian. For one thing, as was stressed above, one must be careful not to misappropriate statements of doctrine or religious ideals as evidence reflecting actual practices or historical states of affairs. Moreover, there are numerous problems of historical criticism. The mere fact that a text purports to record the sayings and doings of a T'ang Ch'an master guarantees nothing about its provenance and date of composition, especially if it comes down to us in a Sung or later edition. The greatest difficulty, however, is posed by the fact that whatever information pertinent to an institutional history may be found in such texts is going to be scattered and piecemeal. What is needed is a methodology that will allow the historian to glean from indisputably T'ang sources whatever bits of information pertaining to the institutonal surroundings of Ch'an school monks they may contain, and to piece together and interpret that information in a systematic way.

The nature of the available sources, and how those sources might be utilized for an institutional history of early Ch'an, is the topic of the present chapter.

Explicit T'ang Sources

Let us begin by examining the available sources that fall into the first category explained above. Much of what can be said about these is negative. The paucity of materials explicitly describing T'ang "Ch'an" institutions (or the institutional surroundings of Ch'an monks) can best be appreciated in contrast to the wealth of contemporary data that is available for the study of Sung and Yüan Ch'an monasticism.

Whereas a number of Ch'an monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*) come

down to us from the Sung and Yüan, no similar codes survive from the T'ang or Five Dynasties. Some scholars have argued, of course, that such a code -- the so-called "Pai-chang Code" -- existed and was lost. Others have asserted that an extant text, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, is itself a T'ang Ch'an monastic code (the "Pai-chang Code"). The various theories that have been advanced on this issue are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. My own view, which I defend in Chapter Eight, is that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* cannot be regarded either as a monastic code or as a product of the T'ang.

Firsthand accounts of the organization and operation of Sung Ch'an monasteries can be found in the diaries of Chinese monks and the records of Japanese pilgrims.[1] Similar accounts of "Ch'an" institutions are nonexistent in sources dating from the T'ang.

A valuable source of information on Southern Sung Ch'an monastic institutions may be found in the *Gozan jissatsu zu* (*Charts of the Five Mountains and Ten Monasteries*).[2] This is a collection of drawings and diagrams representing the ground plans, furnishings and other physical features of major Chinese monasteries in the early thirteenth century. The work was preserved in Japan, and seems to have been originally compiled to aid in the construction of Zen monasteries in Japan in the Kamakura period. No such ground plans or pictographic representations of "Ch'an" monasteries are found in sources dating from the T'ang.

Finally, there are a number of Sung period lexicons which provide contemporary sources of information on Ch'an monastic life.[3] There are no lexicons surviving from the T'ang which contain similar information on "Ch'an" monasteries.

To sum up the situation, we have no sources at all from the T'ang which mention or describe explicitly "Ch'an" institutions. There are, however, a small number of T'ang texts which contain accounts of the institutional surroundings in which Ch'an monks lived. Before discussing these sources, let us recall that by "Ch'an" monks I mean any monks who are identified

as members of Bodhidharm's Ch'an lineage, either in contemporary literature or in later histories. Thus it is possible that we could find contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the institutional surroundings of certain Ch'an monks in a work that does not itself identify the figures in question as members of a "Ch'an lineage."

This is in fact the case with Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan* (*Additional Biographies of Eminent Monks*), a work first completed in 645, with subsequent additions made until the author's death in 667. The *Hsü kao-seng chuan* never speaks of a Ch'an lineage or of Ch'an school monasteries, but it does describe a certain mode of life, characterized by the practice of austerities (*t'ou-t'o*, *dhūtas*), that was followed by Hui-k'o and some other disciples of the dhyāna practitioner (*hsi-ch'an*) Bodhidharma.[4] Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o, of course, are identified in later sources (the Tun-huang "lamp histories") as members of the Ch'an school (as I have defined it). The *Hsü kao-seng chuan* also makes mention of a monastery with some five hundred monks and laymen in residence that was established under the leadership of Tao-hsin (580-651),[5] who is identified in the later lamp histories as the fourth ancestor in Bodhidharma's line. As we shall see in Chapter Seven, scholars such as Ui and Yanagida have made much of the evidence of the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, using it to argue that the early Ch'an school was a sectarian movement that began outside the mainstream of Buddhist monastic institutions and then (starting with Tao-hsin) developed its own unique institutional forms. I would concur that the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* can reveal something about the institutional surroundings of the early Ch'an school monks it treats. By comparing the biographies of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o, and other figures whom we are wont to call Ch'an monks with biographies of the many other dhyāna practitioners treated in the same section of the text, we can try to discover if there was anything unique about their institutional surroundings. My findings on this matter are presented in Chapter Seven, as a critique of Ui's and Yanagida's theories.

The other T'ang sources that explicitly describe the institutional settings in which Ch'an monks flourished are the writings of Kuei-feng Tsung-mi (780-841). The following three works contain passages that are useful in this regard:

(1) the *Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan chi tu-hsü*[6] (*Preface to the Collected Writings on the Source of Ch'an*) (completed 833);

(2) the *Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi t'u*[7] (*Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Ch'an Gate Which Transmits the Mind-Ground in China*); and

(3) the *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao*[8] (*Subcommentary on the Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*) (written between 833 and 841).

Of particular use to the institutional historian is the section of the *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao* in which Tsung-mi describes the actual practices engaged in by the followers of seven Ch'an lineages.[9]

Unlike Tao-hsüan, who knew nothing of a "Ch'an lineage," Tsung-mi wrote both as a historian of the Ch'an lineage, broadly conceived to include all dhyāna practitioners, and as a self-avowed member of Bodhidharma's lineage, in the line of Ho-tse Shen-hui.[10] As a chronicler of the Ch'an school (and this was but one of his many scholarly pursuits), Tsung-mi was not without a doctrinal axe to grind. His avowed purpose as a historian and observer of current events pertaining to the Ch'an school was to present a balanced account of the teachings of each of its main branches, and to reveal the higher standpoint (his own standpoint, of course) from which seemingly incompatible doctrines could be brought together in one harmonious whole.[11] Insofar as he took a stance of quasi-detached objectivity, and sought to make sense out of conflicting teachings without summarily rejecting any of them on dogmatic grounds, Tsung-mi's approach bears some resemblance to what we like to think of as the critical methods of modern scholarship. In this respect, his accounts of the Ch'an school differ somehat from those of the early "lamp histories," all of which champion the cause of a single lineage, presenting it as the sole inheritor of the orthodox Ch'an Dharma.[12] It is possible, as Yanagida

suggests, that Tsung-mi deliberately exaggerated his descriptions of what, to him, were excesses or mistakes in the practical application of doctrine among certain groups of Ch'annists whom he opposed.[13] But the overall thrust of his approach, which was away from polemics and towards conciliation (albeit on his own terms) argues against such an interpretation of his motives. Tsung-mi also stands apart from other Ch'an historians in that he frankly exposed his own beliefs and predilections (e.g. towards a harmonization of the teachings), and presented his analysis as his personal view, open to question and criticism. I am inclined, therefore, to accept Tsung-mi's descriptions of the institutional surroundings in which various groups of Ch'an monks practiced their religion as fairly trustworthy.

Early Ch'an Liturgical Texts

By "Ch'an" liturgical texts, I mean texts that were used by members of the Ch'an school in ritual performances. Several such texts survive which are comparable in content to the procedural guidelines for ceremonies and texts of litanies that were incorporated in Sung and Yüan Ch'an monastic codes. Among the Tun-huang materials associated with the so-called Northern school, for example, there is a text entitled the *Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men* (*The Māhayāna Approach by Means of the Unborn*), which details the procedures to be followed in a liturgy involving vows, repentance, sitting meditation, recitation of the Buddha's name, and a formal litany of questions and answers on doctrinal points.[14] Tsung-mi, who claimed to belong to the Southern lineage of Ho-tse Shen-hui, also recorded (composed?) very detailed instructions, including the texts of litanies, for services and ceremonies involving repentances, hymns of praise, offerings, sūtra chanting services, meditation, and so on. Of particular note are his *Yüan-chüeh-ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng-i* (*Ritual Procedures for Practice and Realization at a Ceremonial Site [for the practice] of the Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra*),[15] and his *Yü-lan-pen-ching shu* (*Commentary on the Yü-lan-pen Sūtra*).[16] However, since Tsung-mi had wide ranging

interests which, to judge from the criticism he drew, went beyond those of many other Ch'annists in his day, it remains to be demonstrated that the rituals he advocated were widely practiced by other Ch'an school monks.[17] Another source which may be considered, in part at least, to be an early Ch'an liturgical text is the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* (*The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Ancestor*), sections of which outline the ritual of receiving the "formless precepts" (*wu-hsiang-chiai*).[18] The authorship of the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* is a matter of scholarly debate, but it probably represents the approach to the ritual of receiving the precepts (*shou-chiai*) taken either by the Niu-t'ou or the Ho-tse branch of the Ch'an school in the latter part of the eighth century.

A comparison of such early Ch'an liturgical texts with similar materials appearing in Sung and Yüan monastic codes is a promising approach for determining what, if any, elements of early Ch'an ceremony and ritual were carried over in the later tradition. There is in fact considerable evidence of continuity in ritual procedures between T'ang and Sung Ch'an, but such continuity, it seems, did not necessarily follow along the lines of traditional "Dharma lineages." There is reason to suspect that Ch'annists in the Sung, while claiming spiritual descent from only two of the many Ch'an lineages that flourished in the T'ang (i.e. the Nan-yüeh and Ch'ing-yüan lines), may have inherited various ritual observances that were (as best we can judge from the limited historical sources) originally more popular among the followers of other, competing Ch'an lineages that did not survive the T'ang. This raises a question about what it means to say that a particular Dharma lineage "died out" or "survived" over a period of time, and suggests that there was a rather weak correspondence between the "transmission of the Dharma" along ancestral "blood lines" and the actual transmission of concrete modes of religious practice from one generation of Ch'an Buddhists to the next. In any case, research in the evolution of Ch'an ritual forms based on the diachronic comparison of liturgical texts can help clarify

these issues.

Explicit Accounts by Sung and Yüan Historians

Next, let us consider the available sources that fall into the second category explained at the start of this chapter. All of these are texts, extant in editions dating from the Sung or later, which document the accomplishments of the Ch'an master Pai-chang Huai-hai (749-814). Pai-chang is said to have been the first to formulate a distinct set of rules for Ch'an communities, and the first to establish an autonomous Ch'an monastery that stood apart from Buddhist monastic institutions regulated by the Vinaya.

Pai-chang's purported role as the founder of an independent system of Ch'an monasticism, significantly, is something that is not mentioned in the pre-Sung biographical sources that we have for him: the text of his stupa inscription,[19] and a notice in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*[20] (*The Patriarchs' Hall Collection*) (compiled 952). These sources do suggest that Pai-chang may have set some rather unusual guidelines for the operation of his monastery. According to the stupa inscription, Pai-chang's followers got together after his death and formulated five "radical" rules for their community.[21] The *Tsu-t'ang chi* attributes the now famous maxim, "A day without working [should be] a day without eating," to Pai-chang.[22] Nevertheless, there is no suggestion in these pre-Sung texts that Pai-chang's monastery was a distinctively organized "Ch'an" facility.

The oldest extant source that mentions the establishment of distinct Ch'an school monasteries in the T'ang is the brief "Biography of Pai-chang Huai-hai" ("Pai-chang Huai-hai chuan") that appears in the *Sung kao-seng chuan* (*Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks*), compiled in 988.[23] Tsan-ning (919-1001), the author of the *Sung kao-seng chuan*, probably drew his sparse information on the system of monastic training implemented by Pai-chang from an existing text, parts of which he evidently quoted verbatim.[24] That text has survived in a number of edi-

tions (all of them postdating the *Sung kao-seng chuan*) which are included in different collections under different titles, but it is most commonly referred to by scholars today as the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (*Regulations of the Ch'an Gate*). *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is the heading borne by the edition of the text that is found in the *Taishō* version of the *Ching-te chuang-teng lu* (compiled 1004), where it is appended to the biography of Pai-chang.[25]

A critical examination of the various redactions of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is included in Chapter Eight of this disseration, together with a comparative study of the other Sung and Yüan sources that mention the founding of a system of independent Ch'an monasticism by Pai-chang. Suffice it to note at this point that all of the accounts of T'ang "Ch'an" monasticism by Sung and Yüan historians can be traced back to a single source: the now lost root text of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* which was quoted by Tsan-ning in 988, and which was included in the original (1004) edition of the *Ching-te chuang-teng lu*.

The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is important not only because of the key role it played in establishing the Ch'an school's traditional understanding of its institutional history, but also because it has served as the primary source and point of departure for most modern studies of early Ch'an institutions. The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and related texts, however, should not simply be accepted at face value. What they directly reveal is not the nature of Ch'an monastic institutions in the early ninth century, but the knowledge and beliefs held by Sung and Yüan dynasty Ch'an historians concerning those institutions.

One thing we can say about the Sung historians' knowledge of T'ang Ch'an institutions is that it was very sketchy. Insofar as they relied entirely on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, they evidently had no more contemporary sources pertaining to early Ch'an monasticism at their disposal than we do today. It is also clear that as the purported "founder" of Ch'an monasticism, the figure of Pai-chang was a highly idealized, symbolic one in Sung Ch'an. By the Southern Sung, at least, his image

was enshrined and worshiped in the patriarchs' halls (*tsu-shih-t'ang*) of major Ch'an monasteries.[26] This fact does nothing to increase our confidence in the objectivity of the Sung Ch'an historians who chronicled his achievements as a monastic legislator.

The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* cannot be positively dated any earlier than 988, but it may have been in existence for some time before that. Since it came to the attention of and was lent credence by the historian and Vinaya master Tsan-ning, who was not an apologist for the Ch'an school, and was also selected by Yang-i (968-1024), the editor of the *Ching-te chuang-teng lu*, it evidently had a fairly wide circulation as a reputable historical document at the end of the tenth century. It is certainly possible, therefore, that the basic pattern of Ch'an school monastic life that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* describes actually took shape some time between the late T'ang and the Northern Sung dynasties.

On the other hand, it is equally possible that the specific claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* concerning the characteristic features of early Ch'an monasticism represent nothing more than the Sung Ch'an school's mythological account of its own emergence as an independently organized religious denomination. The basic pattern of monastic life that the text describes may have been an idealized pattern that some early Sung Ch'an school historian projected back into the T'ang, linking it with the eminent patriarch Pai-chang in order to lend it spiritual authority as well as quasi-historical authenticity. As we shall see in Chapter Eight, there is evidence in the internal structure of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* which suggests that the text is in fact a highly idealized account.

Nevertheless, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and related texts remain valuable sources if they are used with caution. The claims made by Sung Ch'an historians concerning the distinctive features of T'ang Ch'an monasticism cannot be accepted uncritically, but neither should they be rejected out of hand. It is fair, I think, to treat them as viable hypotheses which need to

be confirmed or disproven on the basis of further historical evidence.

Biographies of T'ang Ch'an Masters

Having mentioned the *Hsü kao-seng chuan*, certain of Tsung-mi's historical writings, a number of T'ang Ch'an liturgical texts, and the Sung and Yüan accounts of Pai-chang the monastic legislator, we have fairly well exhausted the sources which pertain directly to the institutional history of early Ch'an. It remains to discuss those sources which indirectly reflect the circumstances in which Ch'an monks lived and practiced their religion. These include, of course, the bulk of the primary textual sources on which the modern, critical study of the history of early Ch'an has been based. Generally speaking, these sources are biographical (hagiographical) in form, although in many cases they have clearly served a doctrinal function. The sheer number of texts in question makes it impossible to name all of them here, so I shall simply outline five broad categories of biographical sources for T'ang Ch'an masters, mentioning only a few specific examples of important texts in each category. I shall then proceed to discuss how these sources might be used for an institutional history of early Ch'an.

First, there is a large body of texts that have been given the generic name of "lamp histories" by Japanese scholars. As we saw in Part One, these consist mainly of hagiographies of individual Ch'an ancestors and their spiritual descendants, linked together in Dharma lineages.[27] The Tun-huang lamp histories are especially valuable sources for an institutional history of early Ch'an because they have been reliably dated as products of the eighth century, and were not subject to revision by redactors in the Sung. The later lamp histories must be used with caution, for although they claim to present biographies of T'ang Ch'an masters, the materials they contain could have been edited or even composed from whole cloth long after the figures represented were dead.

The second category of biographical sources for T'ang Ch'an

masters is comprised of Sung and Yüan works that are similar in format to the lamp histories, but differ insofar as they also include the biographies of Buddhist monks who are associated with traditions other than Ch'an. Examples of such works are the *Sung kao-seng chuan*,[28] *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*,[29] and *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*.[30]

The third category consists of the Ch'an school's "recorded sayings" (*yü-lu*) literature, which purports to record the verbal teachings and actions (also regarded as instructive) of eminent Ch'an masters.[31] Some examples of the "recorded sayings" of T'ang Ch'an masters that have come down to us are:

(1) the *Ma-tsu tao-i yü-lu*[32] (*The Recorded Sayings of Ma-tsu Tao-i*);

(2) the *Pai-chang kuang-lu*[33] (*The Extensive Record of Pai-chang*);

(3) the *Huang-po tuan-chi ch'an-shih wan-ling lu*[34] (*The Wan-ling Record of Ch'an Master Tuan-chi of Huang-po*); and

(4) the *Chao-chou chen-chi ch'an-shih yü-lu*[35] (*The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Chen-chi of Chao-chou*).

Two general observations can be made about the "recorded sayings" of T'ang Ch'an masters. First, they exist chiefly for figures associated with the two branches of T'ang Ch'an that later came to be regarded as the orthodox mainstream, that is, those which claimed Nan-yüeh Huai-jang and Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu respectively as founding ancestors. Secondly, they survive only in late (Sung, Yüan and Ming) editions. In fact, the mature "recorded sayings" genre (which also includes records of many Ch'an masters of the Five Dynasties and Sung) was a product of the Sung Dynasty, by which time the records of the T'ang masters in the above mentioned lineages had assumed the status of orthodox, classical literature.

The fourth category is that of kōan (*kung-an*) collections, consisting of materials culled from earlier "lamp histories" and "recorded sayings," overlaid with commentaries. Some examples are:

(1) the *Pi-yen lu*[36] (*The Blue Cliff Record*) (compiled in 1128);

(2) the *Ts'ung-jung lu*[37] (*The Ts'ung-jung [Hermitage] Record*) (1224); and

(3) the *Wu-men kuan*[38] (*The Gateless Barrier*) (1228).

Kōan collections, like the "recorded sayings" of the T'ang Ch'an masters, are the work of Sung editors who presumably (but not always provably) had early sources in hand. As biographical sources for T'ang Ch'an masters, of course, the kōan collections are even further removed from their subjects than the hagiographies and "recorded sayings," for they were selectively compiled for instructional and doctrinal purposes.

Finally, the fifth category consists of the texts of ancient steles erected to commemorate the lives and deeds of prominent T'ang Ch'an masters. In theory these are of great historical value, for they were generally composed shortly after the deaths of the figures they memorialize. However, caution is necessary in using those epigraphs which survive not in stone, but only as quotations in very late collections such as the *Ch'üan t'ang wen* (compiled 1814).

Scattered throughout many works in the above five categories are numerous passing references to facilities, ceremonies, personnel in residence, and patrons associated with monasteries where pre-Sung Ch'an masters were in residence. But nowhere in any of these sources can we find a coherent account of the institutional organization of the early Ch'an school that is even remotely comparable to the monastic codes and other explicit accounts of Sung Ch'an monasteries. The problem, then, is how to utilize these sources for an institutional history of early Ch'an.

In order to illustrate the nature of the problem, let us examine the hagiography of a single T'ang Ch'an master, selected more or less at random from the most famous of the Sung lamp histories, the *Ching-te ch'uan-te lu*. The hagiography of Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan (748-834) lends itself well to our purposes because it is rich in incidental references to institutional forms, and because Nan-ch'üan is said to have been a disciple of Ma-tsu.[39] As we have seen, the followers of Ma-tsu's school,

led (or symbolized) by Pai-chang, are believed by many historians to have founded the first distinctive Ch'an monasteries. Shiina Kōyū, for example, uses Nan-ch'üan as an example of a Southern lineage master who established an independent Ch'an monastery.[40]

According to the *Ching-te ch'uan-te lu*, Nan-ch'üan became a novice at about age nine, under the tutelage (*shou-yeh*) of a Ch'an master (*ch'an-shih*). At age thirty he went to the monastic center on Mt. Sung, where he received full ordination (*shou-chiai*), made a thorough study of Vinaya texts, attended lectures on the *Lankāvatāra* and *Avataṃsaka* sutras, and studied the basic Mādhyamika texts. Later he "visited Ma-tsu's room" for instruction, and putting aside all of his previous approaches to practice, became adept at entering samādhi. After leaving Ma-tsu, we are told, Nan-ch'üan built himself a small hut for solitary dhyāna practice on the mountain from which he derived his name, and remained there for thirty years. Eventually, however, he came down from the mountain at the invitation of a provincial governor who became his disciple, and took up teaching, with several hundred followers. At this point in the section on Nan-ch'üan, the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* concludes its biographical sketch and relates a string of anecdotes about him and his exchanges with various disciples and other persons.

We are never told that Nan-ch'üan was residing in a monastery, much less a "Ch'an" monastery, but it is possible to piece together, from passing references to such things as monastery buildings and monastic officers which appear in the anecdotes, a fairly detailed picture of the community in which he is supposed to have taught. Mention is made of a Sangha hall (*seng-t'ang*) where the monks hung their robes and bowls and sat in meditation; a Dharma hall (*fa-t'ang*) where Nan-ch'üan gave lectures (*shang-t'ang*) and engaged in debate with an audience that included lay disciples; an abbot's quarters (*fang-chang*) where he stayed and received disciples who came to ask questions; a vegetable garden (*ts'ai-yüan*) which was tended by

monks; a building for the administration of the monastery's agricultural estates (*chuang-she*) and a facility for milling grain. There is also reference to the presence of the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra in the monastery, from which we may infer that their images were enshrined, perhaps in a Buddha hall (*fo-tien*) flanking an image of Śākyamuni, and to spirits of the place (*t'u-ti-shen*) who were enshrined in an altar and given offerings of food. Nan-ch'üan is reported to have held a vegetarian feast (*chai*) "for the benefit of" his deceased master Ma-tsu, meaning, most probably, that the merit accrued was offered to him. From this we may infer that the monastery perhaps had a hall for the veneration of former teachers (*tsu-shih-t'ang*). Eminent monks in residence, such as Nan-ch'üan himself, were memorialized with stupas (*t'a*) after their deaths. Monastic offices mentioned include: a "first seat" (*ti-i-tso*), also referred to as "elder" (*ch'ang-lao*), a position which was *not* held by Nan-ch'üan, but by his disciple Huang-po (d. 849); a "monastery head" (*yüan-chu*); an "estate manager" (*chuang-chu*) and a rector (*wei-na*) who was in charge of communal labor (*p'u-ch'ing*). The officers were evidently divided into eastern and western ranks, for reference is made to "eastern and western halls" (*tung-hsi liang-t'ang*) arguing with each other over the possession of a cat. There was at least one teacher who specialized in lecturing on the sutras (*tso-chu tsu-shih*). There was also at least one teacher (Nan-ch'üan himself) who was a Ch'an specialist (*ch'an-shih*), a term which may or may not be construed to mean specialist in the practice of dhyāna. Clerical ranks deriving from the Vinaya, those of "senior" (*shang-tso*) and "preceptor" (*ho-shang*) were observed in the monastery, and an exchange between two "preceptors" (Nan-ch'üan and the "elder" Huang-po) reveals that the seniority of monks with the same rank was calculated by the time elapsed since ordination. Moreover, monkish deportment (*wei-i*) was observed, with such gestures of greeting and veneration as bows (*wen-jen*) prostrations (*li-pai*), folded hands (*ch'a-shou*) and hands held with palms together (*ho-chang*). The hours (*keng*)

were marked, probably by beating a drum and/or striking a bell.

What is the historian to make of all these details? Given the proper of historiographical framework for interpreting these bits of information, it might be possible to construct a clear picture of the monastic institution in which Nan-ch'üan is supposed to have lived and taught. One approacn might be to interpret the data found in Nan-ch'üan's biography in terms of information found in the oldest Sung monastic codes, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* in particular. Virtually all of the technical terms pertaining to monastery facilities, personnel, and activities do in fact appear frequently in the Sung codes. It would not be difficult to conclude on the basis of such an approach that Nan-ch'üan was active in a large public monastery that was organized along basically the same lines as Ch'an monasteries in the Sung. The overriding fact that prevents us from jumping to such a conclusion, of course, is that the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, in which Nan-ch'üan's hagiography appears, is itself a product of the Sung. Viewed from this perspective, the very fact that Nan-ch'üan's hagiography is loaded with details that place him in a Sung style Ch'an monastery can only increase our suspicion that we are dealing here not with a historical record transmitted from the ninth century, but rather with a text that reveals its late date of composition by the inadvertent inclusion of many anachronistic details of monastery organization.

The central problem in studying early Ch'an institutions is how to get "behind" (or before) the Sung sources on T'ang Ch'an without allowing the views of the Sung historiographers to prejudice our own. If it could be checked or verified in some way using T'ang sources, Nan-ch'üan's hagiography might be admissible as evidence for an institutional history of early Ch'an. As it stands, however, all it tells us with certainty is that certain aspects of Ch'an monastic organization that are reflected in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (compiled 1103) and later codes were already in existence in 1004 when the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* was compiled.

In the case of Nan-ch'üan, the oldest biographical informa-

tion we have is found in *chüan* 16 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, compiled in 952.[41] A comparison of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* hagiography with that of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng* tends to corroborate some of the passages found in the latter work which contain references to institutional forms. The *Tsu-t'ang chi*, for example, also places Nan-ch'üan in such monastery facilities as a Sangha hall (*seng-t'ang*) and abbot's quarters (*fang-chang*), and has him conversing with a "first seat" (*ti-i-tso*) and other monastic officers. Again, however, this confirms only that the facilities and offices mentioned existed in the middle of the tenth century.

It may be, of course, that some of the biographies of T'ang Ch'an masters contained in the various Sung sources listed above are much older than the collections in which they appear, but that cannot be assumed: it must be proven on the basis of independent evidence, preferably dating from the T'ang. Unfortunately, the biographical materials that we have for the study of Ch'an institutions in the ninth century -- just the period when, according to the Sung historiographers, independent Ch'an monasteries were coming into existence -- tend to survive in rather late Sung or Yüan editions.

In the case of Ma-tsu, for example, the available sources include: Ma-tsu's stupa inscription;[42] brief biographical notes in Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao*[43] (written in 823) and *Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u*[44] (ca. 828); notices in many "lamp histories," the two earliest being the *Tsu-t'ang chi*[45] (952) and *Ching-te ch'uang-teng lu*[46] (1004); a biography in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*[47] (988); several koans found in collections such as the *Pi-yen lu*[48] (1128), *Ts'ung-jung lu*[49] (1224) and *Wu-men kuan*[50] (1228); and his "recorded sayings," the *Ma-tsu Tao-i yü-lu*[51] (12th century?).

Needless to say, when dealing with a variety of historical sources such as these, it is a basic principle that earlier sources are more reliable than later ones. Stupa inscriptions, when they can be shown to have been written shortly after the deaths of the figures they memorialize, are especially valuable in this respect, although (as happens to be the case with Ma-

tsu's) they do not always contain many useful references to institutional forms. Epitaphs, moreover, have a tendency to glorify and idealize, so one should be cautious in evaluating what they have to say about a Ch'an master's institutional surroundings. Biographies appearing in later sources should be checked against those in earlier sources for evidence of borrowing and gratuitous embellishment, which is particularly evident in the later "lamp histories." The "recorded sayings" literature tends to make frequent mention of institutional forms since it often portrays Ch'an masters in the midst of various everyday activities, but in most cases it comes down to us in Sung editions, and must be used with caution. Ma-tsu's "recorded sayings," for example, survive in a compilation published in 1607; the title of the compilation is found in a Southern Sung catalogue, and we may reasonably assume that the text we have today was in existence at that time, but even so it is a late (12th century?) edition.[52] Kōan collections, like the "recorded sayings" of the T'ang Ch'an masters, are the work of Sung editors. It might be argued that since the compilers of koan collections regarded the verbal exchanges (*wen-ta*) they transmitted as fixed *kung-an* or "legal cases" (spiritual "precedents," as it were), they would have been unlikely to change the language in any way, and thus would not have introduced any anachronistic references to institutional forms. On the other hand, kōans were clearly compiled as teaching devices, or statements of doctrine, so even when they touch on concrete features of monastery organization and practice, we must be careful in using them as sources for an institutional history. Such, at any rate, are some of the considerations that should be borne in mind when using these biographical sources as a means of getting at the institutional surroundings of T'ang Ch'an masters.

Ironically, we may be able to form a more reliable, balanced picture of the institutional surroundings of Ch'an monks in the eighth century than in the ninth, thanks to Tsung-mi's historical writings and the Tun-huang lamp histories.

A Method for Utilizing Biographical Materials

Let us assume now that the historian has assembled a certain amount of reasonably reliable biographical material pertaining to T'ang Ch'an monks, and wishes to utilize that material as a source for determining if the early Ch'an school (or any branches thereof) constituted a sect with its own monastic institutions.

The task at hand calls for two distinct, though related, lines of research. In the first place, it will be necessary to determine in as much concrete detail as possible the nature of the institutional surroundings in which Ch'an school monks flourished. The second step, assuming that the first may be brought to some degree of satisfactory conclusion, must be to determine what (if any) features of the institutional surroundings of Ch'an monks in the T'ang might be considered unique to, or characteristic, of the Ch'an school. This second aspect of research calls for a comparative approach which, obviously enough, cannot be restricted to literature associated with the Ch'an school. It should utilize any and all sources that deal in an explicit manner with the concrete organization and operation of T'ang and pre-T'ang Buddhist monasteries. Before reviewing the types of "non-Ch'an" sources that might be used for comparative analysis, let us consider the first aspect of research in greater detail.

The search for evidence pertaining to the institutional milieus in which Ch'an monks flourished should be carried out in a systematic manner that will enable us to collate fragmentary bits of information from diverse sources, and will provide a frame of reference for subsequent comparative research. At the outset, I would suggest establishing the following five categories for identifying and organizing references to institutional forms appearing in the "lamp histories," "recorded sayings," kōan collections and inscriptions: (1) monastery buildings, with attention to their layouts, accoutrements, and functions; (2) monastery personnel, including the titles and duties of

monastic officers, and the status and role played in monastery life of all other clergy and lay persons in residence; (3) monastery activities, with attention to all aspects of monkish training and discipline, religious ceremonies and ritual procedures, and the rules and schedules which regulated them; (4) modes of interaction between monastic communities and the surrounding society, including relations with lay patrons and the state, and economic activities; and (5) matters pertaining to the ordination and education of individual monks who were affiliated with the Ch'an school, with attention both to the nature of that affiliation, and to their status within the Buddhist order in general. These categories, of course, might be defined differently. It is possible that as research along these lines progressed, the raw data itself, by its refusal to be readily subsumed under any category, would suggest a further refinement, or even a complete redefinition, of the basic analytical framework. The only restriction is that the analytical categories, once they are decided on, be used consistently throughout, so as to provide a sound basis for subsequent comparative study.

Because we are dealing with biographical materials, and because our very definition of the "Ch'an school" rests on the identification of individual monks, our research should begin by focusing on the individual. There is no guarantee, it should be remembered, that the research will result in the discovery of any single institutional arrangment that pertains to all members of the Ch'an school. Thus, for example, we might single out the figure of Ma-tsu, assemble all of the historical sources for him that can be found, and examine these for evidence pertaining to his institutional surroundings. We could then focus in a ~~similar way~~ on other individual Ch'an masters who appear in Ma-tsu's biographies, or who are identified as his disciples and Dharma heirs. Proceeding in this fashion, it may be possible to discern whether individuals identified by the Ch'an tradition as belonging to a particular lineage grouping tended to reside in similar institutional settings or not. This ap-

proach might also shed some light on the extent to which doctrinal differences between various branches of the Ch'an school were actually reflected in different forms of monastic organization and practice.

One general observation that may be made about the biographies of T'ang Ch'an masters, in both early and late sources, is that they often depict their subjects as traveling about and living in many different places. It was common for Ch'an monks to undertake the ascetic discipline of wandering in their youth, or to travel about to study under different teachers, and then to teach in, or establish, various monasteries once they became famous monks with a following of disciples and patrons. Obviously, if we are focusing on individual masters in an attempt to determine the nature of the institutional surroundings in which they flourished, peregrinations of this sort complicate the task enormously. Fortunately, however, it was common practice for the biographers of T'ang Ch'an masters to record the names of the various monasteries where they were ordained, trained, and engaged in teaching. This was also the case, although to a lesser degree, with those disciples and attendants who recorded the sermons, sayings and actions of their teachers. Thus, even if we begin our research by focusing on individual Ch'annists, once we have examined the biographies and records of a number of roughly contemporaneous figures, particularly those who thrived in the same geographical areas, we may begin to build up a picture of particular monasteries where many of them stayed at one time or another. In short, individual monasteries identified as centers of Ch'an school activities, as well as individual persons, might eventually be used organize this type of research.

It goes without saying that the mere fact that a Ch'an master was in residence does not constitute sufficient proof that a monastery was an independent Ch'an school facility. Indeed, the very proclivity that many Ch'an monks in the T'ang showed for travelling about and residing in a number of different monasteries in the course of their careers suggests that they were

not isolated in their own sectarian communities, but were quite willing and welcome to stay in any Buddhist monasteries.

Non-Ch'an Sources for Comparative Study

Let us turn now to the question of what "non-Ch'an" sources might be utilized in the comparative stage of research, aimed at determining what (if any) features of communities in which Ch'an monks resided might have been unique to the Ch'an school.

At the top of the list of "non-Ch'an" sources that should be consulted are the Chinese Vinaya (*lü*) materials that comprised the basic rules and organizational principles for Buddhist monastic institutions in the Sui and T'ang. Broadly speaking, these are of three types. In the first place, there are a number of primary texts that were translated directly from various versions of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* that had been handed down in Indian Buddhist schools. These include:

(1) the *Ssu-fen lü*[53] (*The Four Part Vinaya* = the Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas) (translation completed 412);

(2) the *Shih-sung lü*[54] (*The Ten Chapter Vinaya* = the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins) (409);

(3) the *Mo-ho-seng-ch'i lü*[55] (*The Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya*) (418);

(4) the *Wu-fen lü*[56] (*The Five Part Vinaya* = the Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas) (424).

Also falling into the category of primary Vinaya materials are translations of various sections of the *Ken-pen-shuo i-ch'ieh-yu pu p'i-nai-yeh*[57] (the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins) made by the monk I-ching (635-713), who traveled to India in the late seventh century in search of Vinaya materials. All of the Indian schools that handed down the well developed *Vinaya-piṭakas* which were transmitted to China, it should be noted, belonged to the Hīnayāna tradition. Mahāyānists in India, it seems, were generally content to rely on the traditional ("Hīnayāna") Vinaya for matters pertaining to monastic organization and monkish etiquette, while shifting their attention away from the traditional moral precepts (*prātimokṣa*) for monks, and towards the practice of Bodhisattva precepts (*bodhisattva-saṃ-*

vara). This was a pattern that was repeated in Chinese Buddhism, which inherited from India the fundamental problem of how to integrate the ideals of the Mahāyāna with the ancient forms of Buddhist monastic discipline.

Secondly, there is a considerable body of exegetical literature composed in Chinese that was aimed at collating and interpreting the rules found in the translated Hīnayāna Vinaya texts. Such commentaries were necessary because the primary texts were difficult to understand due a profusion of technical terminology, were not always in agreement with each other on specific procedural points, and were unsuited in some particulars for application in the Chinese cultural milieu. The most influential commentaries of this sort were three works by Tao-hsüan (596-667), who came to be regarded as the "founding patriarch" of the South Mountain school (*nan-shan tsung*) of Vinaya exegesis:

(1) the *Ssu-fen lü hsing-shih ch'ao*[58] (*A Guide to Practice of the Four Part Vinaya*);

(2) the *Ssu-fen lü chieh-mo shu*[59] (*An Explanation of the Monastic Procedures Found in the Four Part Vinaya*);

(3) the *Ssu-fen lü chiai-pen shu*[60] (*Commentary on the Four Part Vinaya Prātimokṣa*).

Although Tao-hsüan's commentaries were based primarily on the *Ssu-fen lü*, they also took into account the *Shih-sung lü* and other translated Vinaya texts. In general, the Chinese commentators tended either to reconcile or ignore discrepancies they encountered in the Indian Vinaya literature: the denominational distinctions that gave rise to different recensions of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* were not carried over in China.

Thirdly, there are texts belonging to what may called the "Mahāyāna Vinaya" tradition. Some of these were translated from Indian originals, as for example:

(1) the *P'u-sa ti-ch'ih ching*[61] (*The Sutra of Upholding the Stages [in the Practice] of the Bodhisattva*); and

(2) the *P'u-sa shan-chiai ching*[62] (*Sutra of the Bodhisattva's Virtuous Precepts*).

Both of these texts present the ten Bodhisattva precepts as they were developed in the Indian Yogācāra school. Two other historically important "Mahāyāna Vinaya" texts that deal with the Bodhisattva precepts were circulated in China as translations of Indian originals, and generally accepted as such, although they have been determined by modern scholarship to be "apocryphal," that is, of Chinese origin:

(1) the *Fan-wang ching*[63] (*Sutra of Brahma's Net*); and

(2) the *P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching*[64] (*Sutra of the Bodhisattva's Necklace [Explaining the] Fundamental Practice [of Receiving the Precepts]*).

In addition, there are numerous commentaries and discourses on the texts and rituals of the "Mahāyāna Vinaya" tradition by Chinese authors who made no pretense of translating Indian materials.[65]

The doctrinal and cultic orientation of Chinese Buddhism at the time of the inception and development of the Ch'an school was overwhelmingly towards the Mahāyāna. The "Hīnayāna" Vinaya in its modified Chinese form, however, provided the fundamental set of practical regulations for mainstream Buddhist monastic institutions. A detailed discusssion of the contents of the Vinaya as it was adopted for use in China is impossible in the present context, but we may observe that it consisted of three general categories of regulations: (1) rules of moral conduct or precepts (*chiai*) for individual Buddhist monks and laymen; (2) procedural directions for formally implementing major corporate "actions" (*chieh-mo*) in a monastic community; and (3) guidelines for monkish deportment and etiquette (*wei-i*) and procedures for every sort of activity in the day to day operation of a monastery. The precepts were presented in several formulations, chiefly: the "ten novice precepts" (*sha-mi shih-chiai*) binding on all who had entered the Buddhist order by "going forth from the home" (*ch'u-chia*); the "five precepts" (*wu-chiai*) for Buddhist laymen, consisting of the first five of the ten novice precepts; and the "complete precepts" (*chü-tsu chiai*), consisting of approximately 250 rules of conduct for

full-fledged monks (more for nuns) explained in a "precept book" (*chiai-pen*, = Skt. *Prātimokṣa*). The formal "actions" of a monastic community detailed in the Vinaya included such procedures as ordination or "receiving the complete precepts" (*shou chü-tsu chiai*), opening the annual monastic retreat (*an-chü*), and gathering for the bi-monthly rites of purification and recitation of the precepts (*pu-sa* = Prakrit, *poṣadha*). Finally, the third class of regulations, which covered everything from the individual monk's clothing and possessions to the relations between teachers and disciples and the proper use of monastery facilities, comprised (in terms of sheer volume) the major part of the Vinaya.

The "Mahāyāna Vinaya" materials as they were developed, first in India, and then more fully in China, scarcely touched on such matters of monastic organization and monkish etiquette as were detailed in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*. Clearly, they were never intended to challenge or replace the earlier Vinaya tradition in those areas. They were concerned, rather, with building on, redefining and breathing new life into one part of that tradition: the moral precepts for monks and laymen. The ten Bodhisattva precepts were essentially a modification of the traditional ten novice precepts.[66] The Mahāyāna ritual of receiving the Bodhisattva precepts (*shou-chiai*) was modeled on the Hīnayāna rite of the same name, and in fact often performed on the same ceremonial occasion as the latter. The Mahāyāna *poṣadha* ritual was based on the Hīnayāna rite, but used the *Fan-wang ching* or a similar formulation of Mahāyāna precepts as the "precept book" (*chiai-pen*) for recitation in place of the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa*. As a dynamic expression of religious values, and as a popular form of religious practice, the Mahāyāna ritual of receiving the precepts overshadowed the traditional Hīnayāna rite of receiving the complete precepts (*shou chü-tsu chiai*) in T'ang China. It is significant, however, that the latter rite, even as a purely formal exercise (since many of the Hīnayāna precepts were in fact ignored), remained the only means of becoming a full-fledged ("ordained") member of the

Buddhist clergy.

The comparison of the arrangement of monastic institutions in which Ch'an monks flourished in the T'ang with the arrangement of monastic institutions described in Chinese Vinaya materials is fundamentally a matter of looking in the Vinaya for precedents for monastic forms associated with the Ch'an school. The examination of Vinaya materials should be carried out within the same framework of basic categories that is employed in examining the Ch'an materials. Thus, for example, we might use the categories suggested above for organizing references to monastic forms found in Ch'an biographies -- namely, those of monastic facilities, activities, and modes of interacting with the laity -- for directing the search for precedents in the Vinaya materials. Conversely, it may be informative to first take note of particular rules and manners prescribed for monks in the Vinaya, and then check in the biographical materials for evidence of Ch'an monks' compliance or non-compliance with such norms. For example, when examining the biographies of individual Ch'an monks, much could be learned about their standing within and attitude towards the orthodox Buddhist order if attention were paid to the details of their ordinations and relations with preceptors, their clothing and monkish implements, their observance of the established monkish etiquette, and similar matters that were regulated by the Vinaya.

When evidence appears in the biographical sources or elsewhere that depicts Ch'an monks as rejecting or reinterpreting particular features of the Vinaya tradition, it may prove fruitful to look in the "Mahayana Vinaya" materials for other cases of similar protest or innovation by Chinese Buddhists who were not associated with the Ch'an school. As was noted above in connection with the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching*, and as is also evident from Tsung-mi's *Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu-ch'ao*, several branches of the Ch'an school in the late eighth and early ninth centuries used ceremonies for receiving the precepts as a means of spreading their teachings, and expressing their religious outlook in a concrete (and, in the case of the Pao-t'ang

school, dramatically iconoclastic) fashion. But even the most radical instances of Ch'an reinterpretation of the Vinaya are not necessarily indicative of a sectarian break with the Buddhist mainstream: they may simply have been extreme expressions of the already dominant Mahāyāna movement toward revamping the precepts.

Regarding the relationship between the early Ch'an school and the Vinaya tradition, it is noteworthy that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and other Sung sources which relate Pai-chang's establishment of independent Ch'an monasteries state that, prior to Pai-chang, Ch'an monks resided in "separate cloisters" (*pieh-yüan*) established within "Vinaya monasteries" (*lü-ssu*). A number of modern historians, beginning with Ui, have dismissed this claim on the grounds that there were independent Ch'an monasteries already in existence long before Pai-chang's time. We shall see, however, that they fail to demonstrate through comparative analysis that the organization of those communities was in any way unique to the Ch'an school. The claim of the Sung historians regarding the institutional status of the Ch'an school prior to Pai-chang, therefore, remains a viable hypothesis.

The *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*[67] (*The Record of a Pilgrimage to T'ang China in Search of the Dharma*), is another valuable source for the study of Buddhist (not exclusively Ch'an school) monastic institutions in the T'ang. *Ennin's Diary*, as the text is better known to readers of Edwin O. Reischauer's translation,[68] is a day to day record kept by the Japanese Tendai school monk Ennin (792-862) of his experiences as a Buddhist pilgrim in China between the years 838 and 847. Ennin did not have a great deal of contact with monks of what he calls the "Ch'an approach" (*ch'an-men*), but the contact he did have is quite revealing in what it tells us about the institutional disposition of the Ch'an school. *Ennin's Diary* is especially valuable for its descriptions of monastery bureaucracies in the T'ang, and its detailed eyewitness accounts of various Buddhist ceremonies and rituals. It also affords us a very clear, con-

crete understanding of how certain technical terms pertaining to Buddhist monasticism were used in the mid-ninth century, and sheds considerable light on the specialized use of monastery facilities by monks belonging to different doctrinal and cultic traditions.

As I have already stated, the comparative stage of research in the institutional history of early Ch'an should make use of all available sources that deal in an explicit manner with the concrete organization and operation of pre-Sung Buddhist monasteries. The Vinaya materials and *Ennin's Diary* are outstanding examples of the kinds of sources pertaining directly to Chinese Buddhist monasticism in the fifth through the ninth centuries, but they by no means comprise an exhaustive list. Some examples of other works that may profitably be consulted are:

(1) the account of Tao-an's (314-385) monastic rules, as found in the *Kao-seng chuan*[69] (*Biographies of Eminent Monks*);

(2) the *Kuo-ch'ing po-lu*[70] (*One Hundred Records of the Kuo-ch'ing [Monastery]*), a record of the rules and ritual procedures implemented at the monastery founded by the followers of the dhyāna master Chih-i (538-597) on Mt. T'ien-t'ai;

(3) the *Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi*[71] (*Records of Monasteries in Lo-yang*) (compiled ca. 547); and

(4) the *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fan chuan*[72] (*A Record of the Dharma as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago*), by the pilgrim monk and Vinaya expert I-ching (635-713).

Although I-ching's account is dedicated to describing Buddhist practice in India and places which were deeply influenced by Indian Buddhism, his comparative descriptions of contemporary Buddhist practice in China make the *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fan chuan* a valuable source for the history of Chinese Buddhist monastic institutions as well. The same is true, although to a lesser degree, of the travel records left by other Chinese monk pilgrims to India, notably Fa-hsien (traveled 399-414) and Hsüan-tsang (600-664). In discussing non-Ch'an sources for comparative research, I have focused on materials pertaining to Chinese Buddhist institutions. Precedents for monastic forms associated with the Ch'an school, of course, may also be found

in materials pertaining to Indian Buddhism.

Notes to Chapter VI

1 For example, the *Ts'ung-lin sheng-shih* (ZZ 2B-21-1); Eisai's *Kōzen gokoku ron* (T 80, no. 2543); Dōgen's *Eihei shingi* (T 82, no. 2584) and *Shōbōgenzō* (T 82, no. 2582).

2 *Zengaku daijiten*, vol. 3, pp. 10-32.

3 For example, the *Tsu-t'ing shih-yüan* (ZZ 2-18-1); *Shih-shih yao-lan* (T 54, no. 2127); *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh* (T 54, no. 2126).

4 T 50 (no. 2060), pp. 551c-552c.

5 T 50 (no. 2060), p. 606b.

6 T 48 (no. 2015), pp. 397-413; ZZ 2-8-4, pp. 304-320. For an annotated Japanese translation, see Kamata Shigeo, trans., *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, pp. 13-259. For English translations see Jeffrey Lyle Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi: The Convergence of Ch'an and the Teachings*, pp.86-304; Jan, pp. 36-40.

7 ZZ 2-15-5, pp. 433-438; for an annotated Japanese translation see Kamata, *Zengen shosenshū tojo*, pp. 267-347. For a partial English translation see Jan, pp. 50-53.

8 ZZ 1-14-3 & 1-15-1; *Shinsan dai nippon zoku zōkyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1976), vol. 9 (no. 245), pp. 460-757. For a partial English translation see Jan, pp. 42-50.

9 ZZ 1-14-3, pp. 277c-280a; for a synopsis, see pp. 229-230 above.

10 According to Yanagida Seizan, Tsung-mi falsely claimed to belong to Shen-hui's lineage ("The *Li-Tai Fa-pao Chi*," p. 31; Jan Yün-hua, on the other hand, defends the integrity of Tsung-mi's claim ("Tsung-mi," p. 9, note 3). Whether or not Tsung-mi was "actually" in Shen-hui's lineage, I would suggest, is less significant than the fact that he clearly regarded himself as the defender and transmitter of Shen-hui's teachings. The doctrinal inspiration Tsung-mi claimed to have derived from Shen-hui could perhaps be shown to be historically "true" or "false" by comparing the teachings espoused in the writings of the two men; similarity of content or style may be considered to constitute concrete evidence of intellectual borrowing or stimulation. But what historical criteria could be used to judge Tsung-mi's claim to "Dharma inheritance" from Shen-hui?

11 Broughton, *Kuei-feng Tsung-mi*, pp. 118-119; in Tsung-

mi's view, the higher standpoint from which seemingly contradictory teachings could be harmonized was that of *Yüan-chüeh-ching*.

12 For example, the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi* (composed ca. between 712-741), championed the Lankāvatāra ("Northern") school of Shen-hsiu; the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (ca. 780) championed the "Pao-t'ang" school of Wu-chu; and the *Pao-lin-chuan* (801) championed the "Southern" school of Hui-neng. See pp. 100-106 above for references for these works and a discussion of the Tun-huang "lamp histories."

13 Yanagida, "The *Li-Tai Fa-Pao Chi*," p. 32.

14 T 85 (no. 2834), pp. 1273-1278; Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, pp. 449-467.

15 ZZ 2B-1-4, p. 361 to 2B-1-5, p. 497.

16 T 39 (no. 1792), pp. 505-512.

17 For examples of criticism of Tsung-mi, see Jan Yün-hua, "Tsung-mi," p. 36.

18 Philip B. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, pp. 117-8, 125, 144-6, 154.

19 The "T'ang Hung-chou Pai-chang-shan ku Huai-hai Ch'an-shih t'a-ming ping-hsü" ("The Stupa Inscription of the Ch'an Master Huai-hai who Passed Away on Mt. Pai-chang in Hung-chou during the T'ang, with Attached Preface"), in T 48 (no. 2025), pp. 1156b-1157b; also in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (Taipei, 1961), ch. 446.

20 Yün-erh Ch'an-te, ed., *Tsu-t'ang chi* (*Sodō shū*), in Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Zengaku sōsho* vol. 4 (Kyoto: Chūbun Shuppansha, 1984), pp. 271a ff.

21 See note 19 above.

22 Yanagida, ed., *Sodō shū*, p. 271a.

23 T 50 (no. 2061), pp. 770c-771a.

24 Evidence supporting this conclusion is presented in Chapter Eight.

25 T 51 (no. 2076), pp. 250c-251b.

26 The *Gozan jissatsu zu*, for example, shows that an image or memorial plaque for Pai-chang was enshrined in the patriarchs' hall at Pei-shan (*Zengaku daijiten*, 3:13, figure 10).

27 For a representative sample of the "lamp history" genre, see pp. 42, 100-101 above.

28 T 50 (no. 2061).

29 T 49 (no. 2036).

30 T 49 (no. 2035).

31 For a discussion of the "recorded sayings" genre, see: Yanagida Seizan, "Zenshū goroku no keisei," in IBK 18.1 (Nov.,

1969); idem, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 185-205.

32 ZZ 2-24-5.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 ZZ 2-23-2.

36 T 48 (no. 2003).

37 T 48 (no. 2004).

38 T 48 (no. 2005).

39 The hagiography of Nan-ch'üan appears in T 51 (no. 2067), pp. 257b-259b.

40 Shiina Kōyū, "Shotō zensha no ritsu'in kyōjū ni tsuite," in IBK, 17.2 (1969), p. 327.

41 Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sodōshū*, pp. 297-305.

42 *Ch'üan t'ang wen*, ch. 501, 780.

43 ZZ 1-14-3, p. 279a.

44 ZZ 2-15-5, p. 434d.

45 Yanagida, ed., *Sodōshū*, pp. 260a-265b.

46 T 51 (no. 2067), p. 245c-246c.

47 T 50 (no. 2061), p. 766a-c.

48 For example, case no. 73 (T 48 [no. 2003], p. 200c).

49 For example, case no. 6 (T 48 [no. 2004], p230b-231b).

50 For example, case no. 30 (T 48 [2005], p. 296c-297a.

51 ZZ 2-24-5.

52 Miura Isshū and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, *Zen Dust* (New York, 1961), p. 406.

53 T 22 (no. 1428).

54 T 23 (no. 1435).

55 T 22 (no. 1425).

56 T 22 (no. 1421).

57 T 23 (no. 1442).

58 T 40 (no. 1804), pp. 1-156.

59 T 40 (no. 1808), pp. 492-511.

60 T 40 (no. 1806), pp. 429-463.

61 T 30 (no. 1581).

62 T 30 (no. 1583).

63 T 24 (no. 1484).

64 T 24 (no. 1485).

65 For example, T 40 (1811); T 40 (1812 thru 1815; T 24 (1493, 1497, 1499, 1500 1501, and 1502).

66 Paul Groner, *Saicho and the Bodhisattva Precepts*, p. 350.

67 *Dai nippon bukkyō zensho*, vol. 113, pp. 169-282.

68 Edwin O. Reischauer, trans., *Ennin's Diary: A Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law*.

69 T 50 (no. 2059), p. 353b-c.

70 T 46 (no. 1934).

71 T 51 (no. 2092).

72 T 54 (no. 2125).

CHAPTER VII

PREVIOUS RESEARCH IN THE INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF EARLY CH'AN

Research to date on T'ang Ch'an monastic institutions has focused primarily on three issues: (1) the question of early Ch'an monastic codes (*ch'ing-kuei*), the so-called "Pai-chang Code" (*Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*) in particular; (2) the question of the institutional surroundings of Ch'an monks prior to Pai-chang; and (3) the related questions of the role of communal manual labor (*p'u-ch'ing tso-wu*) in early Ch'an monasticism and the Ch'an school's purported economic self-sufficiency and rejection of traditional modes of patronage.

In this chapter I shall discuss the methods and findings of previous research in the institutional history of early Ch'an in order to substantiate the claim I made in the General Introduction: that scholarly studies of early Ch'an monastic institutions have presupposed, rather than demonstrated, the existence of sectarian Ch'an institutions in the T'ang.

Early Ch'an Monastic Rules

As we have seen, the oldest surviving text belonging to the genre Ch'an "pure rules" (*ch'ing-kuei*) or monastic codes is the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, compiled in 1103. However, according to the traditional account which appears in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and subsequent Sung and Yüan texts which draw on it, the first such set of rules for Ch'an monasteries was formulated some three centuries earlier by Pai-chang. The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* describes a few salient features of monastic organization and practice which it implies were formulated by Pai-chang, but it

does not actually make reference to a monastic code (*ch'ing-kuei*) written by him. It is only in Southern Sung dynasty (1127–1280) sources that we begin to find references to a rule book, entitled the *Pai-chang Code* (*Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*), that Pai-chang is supposed to have authored.[1]

Modern historians have tried to clarify three issues related to the so-called *Pai-chang Code*: (1) the question of whether a text with that title written by Pai-chang ever existed or not, and if it did, when it was lost; (2) the question of Pai-chang's actual contribution as a Ch'an monastic legislator (regardless of whether his rules were ever compiled in a text called the *Pai-chang Code* or not); and (3) the broader question of the contents of early Ch'an monastic rules (regardless of whether they originated with Pai-chang or not).

Regarding the first two questions, scholars have advanced a number of differing views. Ui Hakuju, Ōkubo Dōshū, Ōishi Shuyū, and Kondō Ryōichi (in an early article) hold that a rule book written by Pai-chang and entitled the *Pai-chang Code* survived down to the mid-thirteenth century, and may even have been seen by the Japanese monk Dōgen (1200–1252) during his sojourn in China.[2] Kagamishima Genryū, Imaeda Aishin, Kosaka Kiyū, Yanagida Seizan and Harada Kōdō agree that a *Pai-chang Code* composed by Pai-chang probably once existed, but argue variously that it had been lost by 988, or 1004 or 1103.[3] Okimoto Katsumi argues that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is itself is nothing other than the *Pai-chang Code*.[4] Kimura Shizuo and Kondō Ryōichi (in two later articles) doubt that a *Pai-chang Code* as such ever existed, but still maintain that Pai-chang was an innovative monastic legislator: his rules, according to this theory, were never compiled in a single written text, but were informally transmitted by his disciples and used as a basis for establishing many independent Ch'an monasteries.[5] Finally, Martin Collcutt questions both the existence of a *Pai-chang Code* and Pai-chang's role as an pioneering Ch'an monastic legislator, stating that some Ch'an regulations had probably been drawn up before Pai-chang's time, and that "he probably did little more

than lend his name to a developing corpus."[6] Despite their differences, these scholars do occupy some common ground: they all agree that, from at least the beginning of the ninth century, the Ch'an school had its own distinctive rules governing the organization and operation of its own separate monastic communities.

As for the third question, namely, how to ascertain the contents of the early Ch'an monastic rules (conventionally referred to as the "old Pai-chang code" even by those who doubt Pai-chang's authorship), historians have taken two main avenues of approach. One approach, which they all utilize to some extent, is to rely on the sketches of Pai-chang's rules that appear in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and related Sung sources, accepting these sources more or less at face value as accurate records of Ch'an school monasticism in the early ninth century. One weakness of this method, as I have pointed out, is that the Sung sources are rather far removed chronologically from the circumstances they purport to record. Their objectivity is also open to question, since they were written at a time when Ch'an historians were clearly concerned with defining the Ch'an tradition, stressing its independence, and strengthening its claim to be the orthodox transmitter of the Buddha's teachings. Some scholars have tried to overcome these problems by comparing the account of Pai-chang's rules found in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* with information found in biographies of Pai-chang and other contemporary Ch'an masters. Such biographical materials have also come down to us mostly in Sung editions, and thus have no greater inherent reliability than the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, but they do provide a means of cross-checking the latter's historicity, and have been used in that way by some scholars.[7]

The second approach, which is taken chiefly by Kagamishima, Kosaka, Kondō and Harada, is to look for remnants of the "old Pai-chang code" in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*.[8] This approach assumes that the regulations compiled in the *Ch'an-yüan ching-kuei* in 1103 evolved directly from rules formulated by Pai-chang around 800, and that they preserved something of those

earlier rules' form and spirit, albeit with many alterations and accretions over the course of the three centuries that separated Pai-chang and the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*. The method, as stated theoretically, is to recover the original contents of the "old Pai-chang code" by purging the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* of elements attributable to later (especially Northern Sung) social and economic influences.[9] This approach, in addition to being highly speculative, has another more serious flaw: it uses a preconceived notion of the nature of early Ch'an monasticism to distinguish those elements of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* that are derived from the "old Pai-chang code" and those that are later accretions.[10] The scholars who employ this method, in fact, rely on the account of Pai-chang's rules in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* to make such distinctions in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*.

In actual practice, the effort to recover the original contents of the "old Pai-chang code" by analyzing the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* becomes something quite different: an attempt to trace the process whereby a hypothetical "old Pai-chang code" evolved into the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*. Such accounts take it for granted that life in early Ch'an monasteries -- those regulated by the hypothetical "old Pai-chang code" -- must have been materially simpler and spiritually purer than that in the Northern Sung Ch'an monasteries regulated by the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*. In an attempt to substantiate this view, scholars have compared the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* with later Ch'an monastic codes and concluded that Ch'an monasticism underwent a process of degeneration from the Northern Sung down through the Southern Sung and the Yüan. The process is described as one of increasing secularization, a growing reliance on state support and lay patronage, a corresponding increase in ceremonies aimed at pleasing patrons, and a heavier involvement in profit making commercial ventures such the management of estate lands and large grain milling operations. The assumption is then made that this process of degeneration had already progressed to a certain degree by the time the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* was com-

piled in 1103. The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, the oldest Ch'an code extant, is thus considered to have already been diluted and vitiated with extraneous elements unknown in an earlier, "original" Ch'an code whose very existence, not to mention contents, remains highly speculative.

There are several problems with the method employed here. In the first place, even if it is granted that Ch'an monastic institutions evolved in a certain way between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, there is no reason to assume that a similar process must have marked their evolution from the ninth century to the twelfth. In other words, an evolutionary trend in an institution cannot be projected backwards, as it were, to an earlier period for which no concrete evidence exists.

Secondly, even if it is assumed that the account of the "old Pai-chang code" found in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is historically unimpeachable, that account does not amount to anything more than a general summary of Pai-chang's rules. It can hardly be compared on an equivalent basis with a complete set of rules such as the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*.

Finally, the notion that Ch'an monastic institutions "degenerated" between the Northern Sung and the Yüan, apart from embodying a normative judgement that is inappropriate in critical historiography, is based on a purely diachronic comparison of Ch'an monastic codes. As I have pointed out, however, the various surviving codes are not necessarily coeextensive in the type of functions they were meant to regulate, nor do they all necessarily reflect conditions in the same type of monastery. The conclusions that Kagamishima and others reach regarding the evolution of Ch'an monasticism in the two centuries following the composition of the *Ch'an-yüan ching-kuei* are rendered invalid by their failure to first engage in the kind of "classificatory study" recommended by Okada.[11]

There are several reasons why studies in the institutional history of Ch'an have tended to focus on the question of early Ch'an monastic rules when, in point of fact, no Ch'an monastic codes older than the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* have come down to

us. In the first place, because the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* obviously describes a mature, well articulated institutional structure that could only have developed gradually over a long period of time, there is a natural inclination on the part of historians to look for earlier, prototypical "Ch'an" monastic rules. This inclination is reinforced by the evidence of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, which suggests that an early set of rules for Ch'an monasteries may actually have existed. It is also reinforced by the belief that early Ch'an school was a protest movement which must have formed its own sectarian communities, and that that it therefore must also have developed distinctive rules to regulate those communities. A similar connection between independent communities and distinctive rules, I would suggest, was drawn by the Sung Ch'an historians who, wishing to establish that independent Ch'an monastic institutions had a long and venerable history extending all the way back to the mid-T'ang, felt compelled to hold up Pai-chang and his rules as substantiating evidence.

Whatever motives may be attributed to their Sung predecessors, modern historians suffer from the fallacy of assuming that the early Ch'an school constituted a sect. Rather than view the absence of any Ch'an monastic codes dating from the T'ang as an indication that separate Ch'an monastic institutions may not have existed at that time, they have taken the existence of such institutions for granted, and concluded that some sort of early Ch'an codes must also have existed. By the same token, they have been so predisposed to view the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* as something that evolved from an earlier Ch'an school code that they have overlooked the obvious possibility that much or all of its contents derived from the mainstream Buddhist monastic tradition. As was noted in Chapter Three, there are in fact a great many elements in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* that may be traced back to earlier Buddhist (not uniquely "Ch'an") monastic forms. But the kind of broad comparative study that is necessary to establish such connections has been ignored.

The "Anti-Institutional" Stance of Bodhidharma's School

According to the generally accepted account, the Ch'an masters associated with the so-called Lankāvatāra school (*Leng-chia tsung*) in the two or three generations after Bodhidharma were wandering ascetics who shunned the scholasticism, ceremonialism, and lay patronage of the great monastic centers in order to practice meditation and austerities in remote retreats. The scholar who first advanced this theory was Ui Hakuju. Ui concludes in his *Zenshū shi kenkyū* that while some early Ch'an masters who received and transmitted Bodhidharma's teachings were admittedly lecturers residing in monasteries, monks such as Hui-k'o (487-593) who were the key figures in the establishment of the Ch'an lineage were hermits and ascetics (*zudagyōsha*).[12] Yanagida concurs, characterizing Bodhidharma and his followers as practitioners of austerities (*zuda, t'ou-t'o*) who lived in the mountains and forests and shunned the mainstream "temple Buddhism" of Northern China.[13] Similar views have been echoed by a number of scholars writing in English and Chinese.[14]

The historical source relied upon most heavily by Ui, Yanagida, and others who hold similar views on the institutional disposition of the early Ch'annists of the Lankāvatāra school is Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan*.[15] Other materials which shed some light on the matter are older "lamp histories" found at Tun-huang, such as the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and the *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*. The wealth of popular anecdotes about Bodhidharma and his disciples that appear in later Ch'an hagiographies are, as Yanagida puts it, "fictions" which accrued over the centuries to the idealized figure of the first ancestor.[16]

It is important to remember that when modern historians look selectively to the biographies of Bodhidharma, Hui-k'o and several of their disciples in the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* for information on the "founders of the Ch'an lineage," they are in effect taking the account of the Ch'an lineage found in later works such as the *Ch'uan fa-pao chi* and the *Leng-chia shih-tzu*

chi and using it as a guide for interpreting the earlier text. The *Hsü kao-seng chuan* itself never speaks of a Ch'an lineage stemming from Bodhidharma, and does not associate the fourth and fifth ancestral teachers in that lineage, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, with Bodhidharma. The *Hsü kao-seng chuan* does confirm that there was a group of dhyāna practitioners (*hsi-ch'an*) associated with Bodhidharma and his disciple Hui-k'o who all adhered to Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* as their scriptural authority.[17]

Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o are of particular interest to us, of course, because they are members of the Ch'an school as we have defined it. Because our working definition is a nominal rather than a real one, however, we cannot assume that their relationship to the mainstream of Buddhist monastic institutions was necessarily any different than that of the ninety-three other dhyāna practitioners (*hsi-ch'an*) to whom Tao-shüan also devoted biographical notices. The question that needs to be asked is whether Tao-hsüan himself described Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o in such a manner that they clearly differed from other dhyāna practitioners in some way. If that question can be answered positively, then we may have grounds for speaking of a uniquely Ch'an mode of relating to Buddhist monastic institutions.

In making their cases about the eremitic lifestyle and sectarian, anti-institutional stance taken by monks in Bodhidharma's school, both Ui and Yanagida base their arguments largely on Tao-hsüan's assertion that Hui-k'o and others resided in "forests and fields," or on mountains, and practiced *dhūtas* (*t'ou-t'o*; *zuda*). This is certainly an important point to note, but it is misleading to suggest that Bodhidharma and his followers were in any way unique in this respect. Tao-hsüan also mentions many other dhyāna practitioners (including Chih-i, of T'ien-t'ai fame) who spent part or all of their careers in remote areas practicing *dhūtas*.[18] It is clear from the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* that an emphasis on such austerities was one of the general characteristics of dhyāna practitioners in the sixth

and seventh centuries, although of course there were also many who did not live up to the ideal of the wandering ascetic at all times. The overall picture that emerges from Tao-hsüan's account is one of considerable flexibility of lifestyle. It was common for dhyāna practitioners to engage in periods of intense meditation and austerities, either in solitary retreat or in small bands, to wander from monastery to monastery, staying for varying lengths of time before moving on, or yet again to spend long years in monastic communities supported by powerful lay patrons. Tao-hsüan frequently depicts one and the same dhyāna monk as following several or all of these modes of existence in the course of his career. Apparently, there was no sharp line of demarcation between monks who were wandering ascetics and those who resided in monasteries, and no sense that the former were rebels or "outsiders" who had irrevocably rejected "temple Buddhism." On the contrary, Tao-hsüan speaks with equal admiration of dhyāna practitioners who were recluses and those who had many lay followers and solicited the support of emperors for huge monastery building projects: hermits and priests alike fall into the category of "eminent monks" (*kao-seng*) in good standing within the Buddhist order.

I would conclude, therefore, that Tao-hsüan regarded Bodhidharma and Hui-k'o as merely two among the many eminent dhyāna practitioners who had flourished up to his day. Tao-hsüan grouped all of these dhyāna practitioners together, not as a "lineage" of any sort, but rather as a class of monks who took a characteristic approach to Buddhist practice, specializing in meditation techniques, just as other monks specialized in doctrinal or Vinaya studies.

Judging from Tao-hsüan's accounts of many dhyāna practitioners, it seems that there was a thriving movement to promote the practice of dhyāna within Chinese Buddhism in the sixth and seventh centuries. Dhyāna masters accepted lay and monk disciples, established meditation facilities (*ch'an-shih*, *ch'an-fang*, *ch'an-t'ang*) at various monasteries, and engaged in public debate. It is also noteworthy that many of them were inter-

ested in putting Vinaya rules into practice. The promotion of dhyāna, evidently, was part of a broader movement to promote all aspects of Buddhist monachism.

When Tao-hsüan speaks of the *dhūtas*, there is no doubt that he is referring to the traditional Indian Buddhist austerities (variously listed as twelve or thirteen in number). These were extraordinary practices, not required of all monks, which strictly regulated a monk's food, clothing and shelter. Tao-hsüan mentions the following specific *dhūtas* as practices engaged in by various dhyāna practitioners in China: living in forests, residing in unsheltered places, always sitting and never lying down, using coarse or discarded material for robes, always begging for food, and taking but one meal a day. These practices were known to the Chinese from translated works such as the *Ta chih-tu lun*[19] and the *Shih-erh t'ou-t'o ching*,[20] both of which contain explicit formulations of the *dhūtas*, and from various translated Vinaya texts.

This fact is significant, because it means that when the dhyāna practitioners described by Tao-hsüan (including those associated with Bodhidharma) undertook various *dhūtas*, they were not rebelling against the Indian Buddhist tradition, but rather trying to live up to some of its highest ideals as those were described in orthodox scriptures. Moreover, they were not placing themselves outside the accepted limits of traditional Buddhist institutional and social structures, for those structures (as made known to the Chinese through the translation of Vinaya materials) were flexible enough to allow Buddhist monks a choice between the ancient ascetic ideal of the homeless wanderer and the more settled life of the monastery dweller.

In China, both the eremitic and the cenobitic modes of existence were recognized from the fourth and fifth centuries as valid ones for Buddhist monks, and both met with considerable resistance from the ruling class.[21] Buddhists in China, as had been the case in India, held the ideal of the hermit ascetic in the highest regard, while recognizing that the great majority of monks would not live up to it. It was precisely this outlook

which allowed Tao-hsüan to speak admiringly of those dhyāna practitioners who observed the *dhūtas*, while at the same time favorably reporting the efforts of their counterparts who were temple builders and lecturers.

In conclusion, the evidence of the *Hsü kao-seng chuan* does not support the notion that the early Ch'an monks who followed Bodhidharma constituted a unique, sectarian group.

The East Mountain Communities

As was noted in the General Introduction, historians are divided on the question of when (not if) the Ch'an school first developed its own distinctive, independent monastic institutions. One school of thought on this matter, represented by scholars such as Yanagida and Okimoto, tends to accept the claim made by the Sung historiographers that such institutions were first established by the followers of Ma-tsu, Pai-chang foremost among them. Another school of thought, drawing mainly on the work of Ui Hakuju,[22] regards the so-called East Mountain monasteries of the fourth and fifth ancestors in the Ch'an lineage, Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (-674), as the first characteristically Ch'an monasteries.[23]

It is generally accepted, as we saw in the previous section, that the founders of the Ch'an school were *dhūtas* practitioners who completely shunned monastery life. The next stage in the development of Ch'an monasticism, according to Ui, came when Ch'an school monks began to settle down in communities of their fellows, still in areas remote from population centers and urban monasteries. The earliest such communities, he believed, grew up under Tao-hsin and Hung-jen at Mt. Shuang-fen (also called Mt. P'o-t'ou) and Mount Feng-mu, respectively, in the district of Huang-mei (in present day Hupeh). Because of the proximity of these communities, and the fact that Tao-hsin was Hung-jen's teacher, scholars generally refer to them collectively as the East Mountain school, although historically the term "East Mountain Dharma Gate" applied specifically to

Hung-jen's teachings.

Ui's study of the East Mountain monasteries was based primarily on the biography of Tao-hsin that appears in Tao-hsüan's *Hsü kao-seng chuan*.[24] Ui reasoned that the large number of trainees gathered in the East Mountain communities, more than five hundred according to Tao-hsüan, could not have subsisted only on donations from the faithful or the fruits of daily alms gathering rounds. He further posited that the East Mountain communities had no governmental support, and concluded that they could only have been self-sufficient, with the monks themselves engaged in food production.

Moreover, in Ui's estimation, the practice of communal productive labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) that must have taken place (Tao-hsüan does not mention it) was not simply a matter of economic necessity for early Ch'an school communities. It was also a concrete expression of an innovative doctrine which held that Buddhist practice need not be restricted to any special external religious forms and conventions, but could be undertaken in the midst of all ordinary human activities. Specifically, the practice of dhyāna need not be limited to the assumption of the traditional seated posture, but could be pursued while engaged in manual labor. Such an attitude towards the external forms of religious practice, Ui held, meant that ordinary people, and not just monks who had the time and special facilities, could practice dhyāna in the midst of (or rather, "in the form of") their daily lives. This did not mean that whatever anyone did was ipso facto Buddhist practice, but rather that the distinction between religious discipline and secular activity became a purely internal, psychological one: dhyāna became nothing other than the introspection of one's own mind. This change in the understanding of dhyāna practice, Ui concluded, grew out of the milieu in which monks had to subsist on the fruit of their own labors. It represented the "sinification of dhyāna,"[25] which is to say, the metamorphosis of Indian dhyāna into Chinese "Ch'an."

In this manner Ui argued that the East Mountain communi-

ties, with respect to their reliance on communal labor and lack of dependence on lay patrons and government support, "did not differ at all from the general conditions of livelihood in the later Ch'an monasteries" of Pai-chang's day.[26] He concluded that Tao-hsin and Hung-jen were the real founders of independent Ch'an school monasticism, and not Pai-chang, as the traditional (Sung dynasty) histories would have it.

One of the underlying assumptions of Ui's argument is that productive communal labor, together with a lack of dependence on patronage, alms gathering or governmental support, is a distinguishing characteristic of early Ch'an monasticism. He takes it for granted that Ch'an monasteries in Pai-chang's day were self-supporting, and wants to argue that this state of affairs actually began much earlier, with Tao-hsin. Other historians, too, have tended to view the Ch'an school's economic self-sufficiency as a defining feature, or at least a necessary corrolary, of its presumed sectarianism. After all, this line of reasoning goes, if the Ch'an school rejected the organizational structure and role in society of existing Buddhist monastic institutions, and if those institutions were characterized by a reliance on patronage (and by all of the attendant concessions to the demands of state and "popular" Buddhism), then Ch'an communities must have found a different means of sustaining themselves that did not compromise their religious ideals and spiritual independence.

Setting aside, for the moment, the larger question of defining Ch'an monasticism in terms of the practice of communal labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) and economic independence, let us first examine the specific claims that were made by Ui concerning the East Mountain communities.

There is some evidence in the Tun-huang lamp histories that both Tao-hsin and Hung-jen themselves engaged in manual labor,[27] so it is likely that their followers in the East Mountain school did as well. Whether or not this was conceived as an integral part of their religious training, as Ui would have it, is a matter of speculation. We know from the famous story

in the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* of Hui-neng being sent to work in the grain hulling room (*tui-fang*) at Hung-jen's monastery that at least some of the assembly there were regularly engaged in manual labor (*tso-wu*).[28] There is a question, however, of whether the fully ordained monks were engaged in such labor, since the *Liu-tsu t'an-ching* suggests that Hui-neng was a postulant (*hang-che*) at the time -- a layman who aspired to ordination as a novice and had been accepted into the monastery on a provisional basis.[29]

The extent to which the East Mountain monasteries were self-sufficient is debatable. In one recent study, Shiina Kōyū argues that the topography of the East Mountain area was unsuitable for agriculture, and concludes that the monks there could not have subsisted solely by the fruits of their own labors.[30] Shiina points out, moreover, that Hung-jen did have powerful officials as his disciples, and that it was very likely their patronage that allowed for the elaborate building projects known to have taken place at Hung-jen's monastery.[31] In another study, Kondō Ryōichi counters Shiina's findings with the observation that the figure of five hundred or more followers in the East Mountain assemblies may have been exaggerated, or may have included temporary residents gathered one certain occasions.[32] Kondō concedes that Tao-hsin and Hung-jen may have received some support from the laity, particularly for building projects, but he stresses that no records of large scale donations of money or estate land exist. He concludes that Ch'an communities did in fact subsist on the fruits of their own labors up to the middle of the ninth century, when the "degeneration" discussed in the previous section began.[33]

Personally, I find Shiina's arguments more convincing than Kondō's on the question of the East Mountain monasteries' source of economic support. The fact is, however, that the concrete historical evidence is just too sparse to support any firm conclusions one way or the other. As Shiina himself states, what we can know about the concrete arrangement of the East Mountain monasteries "does not extend beyond the realm of

supposition."[34] Many scholars have examined the doctrinal side of the East Mountain school, but prior to Shiina the only one to research its socio-economic status and approach to actual practice was Ui.[35] Ui himself admitted that "nothing whatsoever has been transmitted concerning the actual circumstances under which the fourth and fifth ancestors' followers lived, the training methods they employed, or other related facts."[36] Shiina, I believe, hits the mark when he says that the supposition that the followers of the East Mountain school were completely self-sufficient and independent is itself "an image of a monastery that is idealized in Zen terms."[37] The belief in the economic independance of the East Mountain school, in other words, is rooted in the ideology of the later Ch'an and Zen schools, not in any early historical sources pertaining to Tao-hsin and Hung-jen.

Historical records are more informative about the institutional disposition of the followers of the so-called Northern school of Ch'an in the generations after the fifth ancestor Hung-jen. Shiina has shown that monks of the Northern school, which flourished in the two capitals and at major Buddhist mountain centers such as Mt. Sung in Honan near Loyang, resided in mainstream Buddhist monasteries that were regulated by the Vinaya, and enjoyed imperial support.[38] There is evidence that Ch'an monks dwelling in those eclectic institutions congregated in separate cloisters (*pieh-yüan*) or meditation halls (*ch'an-t'ang*).[39] In this respect, I would add, they were not unique, for there was a general tendency in T'ang Buddhist monasticism for monks with common doctrinal interests and approaches to religious training to make their headquarters in a particular building or cloister within a large monastery compound.[40] There is little doubt that the Northern school was conscious of itself as comprising a distinct lineage of Dharma inheritance. The doctrines it held also set it apart from other schools in the Buddhist tradition. Recent studies have shown that the position it took on the issue of sudden enlightenment may have been almost as radical as any subsequent branch of the Ch'an

movement. However, because the Northern school was clearly accomodated within the mainstream of traditional Buddhist monastic institutions in the eighth century, and enjoyed the support of the imperial court at times just like other competing Buddhist schools, it cannot be considered a sectarian entity in the sense that we have defined.

Shiina considers the separate cloisters of the Northern school to represent an intermediate stage, or case of arrested development, in a process of sectarian separation that culminated in the establishment of completely independent Ch'an monasteries by Southern school monks in Ma-tsu's lineage. He admits, however, that the actual arrangement of those Northern school *ch'an* cloisters (*ch'an-yüan*), and the historical evolution of facilities deemed characteristic of later Ch'an monasteries, such as the abbot's quarters (*fang-chang*) and Dharma hall (*fa-t'ang*), remain "important topics for future study."[41] In other words, in the present state of our knowledge, it cannot be said with any confidence that either the East Mountain school of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen or the Northern school that claimed descent from it had begun to establish independent communities with "characteristic" Ch'an buildings or patterns of monastic organization.

The Ideals of Communal Manual Labor and Self-sufficiency

According to Ui the social significance of communal manual labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) in early Ch'an was that it broke down the distinction between monk and lay Buddhists, and made meditation practice into something that was accessible to anyone. Its spiritual significance, too, lay in the fact that it represented an approach that made ordinary daily activity a primary sphere of religious experience. A number of scholars since Ui have followed up on these themes, and have viewed the practice of manual labor as being characteristic in one way or another of early Ch'an monasticism. In particular, many have regarded economic self-sufficiency based on communal manual labor as a defining feature, or at least a necessary corollary, of the

early Ch'an school's presumed sectarianism. In this section I shall discuss the background that the academic treatment of this issue has in the Japanese Zen and Sung and later Ch'an traditions.

When Ui and other Japanese Zen scholars in his day, such as Fukaba Hoshū, Suzuki Daisetsu, and Inaba Meidō, first turned their attention toward the historical significance of manual labor in the Ch'an and Zen traditions, what lay behind their interest in the topic was the stress placed on work (*samu*) and on "introspection in the midst of action" (*dōchū no kufū*) in modern Japanese Zen monasticism, especially the Rinzai Zen of Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768). Fukaba, for example, cited the following passage from Hakuin's *Orategama* in making the point that communal labor was central to early Ch'an monasticism:

> In ancient times when the Zen school was flourishing, at the sound of the drum signalling a general call (*fushin*; *p'u-ch'ing*) to the labor (*samu*; *tso-wu*) of hefting rocks and moving earth, [drawing] water, [gathering] firewood and [growing] vegetables, the sages such as Nangaku [Nan-yüeh], Baso [Ma-tsu], Hyakujō [Pai-chang], Ōbaku [Huang-po], Rinzai [Lin-chi] ... and others would seek wholeheartedly to strengthen their [spiritual] practice in the midst of activity. Thus the Great Master Pai-chang said, "If there is a day without working, it should be a day without eating." This is called "introspection in the midst of activity" (*dōchū no kufū*), or "continuous sitting meditation" (*fudan zazen*). This mode of practice has died out in the present day.[42]

Fukuba attempted to define the early Ch'an school in terms of its unique approach to meditation in the midst of activity and its rejection of the traditional reliance of Buddhist institutions on lay patronage. It is obvious from his assumption of the standpoint of Hakuin Zen, however, that he began his historical inquiry with a preconceived notion of the importance of manual labor in the Ch'an tradition, and then set out to validate that notion by examining sources pertaining to the T'ang Ch'an masters.

Suzuki also took the standpoint of Hakuin Zen in claiming that manual labor has formed "one of the most essential fea-

tures of the Zen life" since Pai-chang's founding of the Ch'an monastic institution, and that the Chinese Ch'an approach of meditation in the midst of action "saved Buddhism from sinking into a state of lethargy and a life of mere contemplation."[43] Suzuki, like Fukuba, set out to substantiate this view by gleaning a number of passages from the classical literature of the Sung Ch'an school that depict T'ang Ch'an masters engaging their disciples in repartee while in the midst of communal labor (*p'u-ch'ing*). In Suzuki's case, I believe, the attempt to portray labor as one of the defining characteristics of early Ch'an monasticism was not only an outgrowth of his background in Hakuin Zen, but also a means of deflecting the sort of criticism of Buddhism that was often voiced by Westerners in his day -- to wit, that it was "quietistic" or "nihilistic."

With regard to the practice of manual labor in T'ang Ch'an monasticism, Suzuki further held that,

> There was also a democratic spirit here in action. The term *p'u-ch'ing*, "all invited," means to have every member of the Brotherhood on the field. No distinctions are made, no exceptions are allowed; for the high as well as the low in the hierarchy are engaged in the same kind of work. There is a division of labour, naturally, but no social class-idea inimical to the general welfare of the community.[44]

Here again, in Suzuki's evocation of a "democratic spirit" in T'ang Ch'an monasticism there is an appeal to the sensibilities of his English speaking audience. Suzuki was not alone, however, in holding that communal manual labor in early Ch'an, in which the abbot and all members of monastic community would work together, was a manifestation of a spirit of social equality. The idea has had a general appeal among Japanese Zen scholars since the early decades of this century, when Japan itself was in the midst of shaking off centuries of rigid social stratification (the heritage of the Tokugawa period) and was beginning to absorb the ideals of Western style democracy.[45] A contemporary of Suzuki who was also one of the first to advance the theory that the practice of communal labor in early Ch'an was a manifestation of an egalitarian spirit was Inaba

Meidō. Inaba, too, was attuned to intellectual currents outside Japan. He made a brief comparison of the role of labor in Ch'an and Christian (Benedictine) monasticism,[46] and likened the egalitarian ideal expressed in the Ch'an principle of communal labor to that expressed in Tolstoy's utopian writings.[47]

By raising these considerations of the intellectual climate in Japan in the pre-war era, I do not mean to imply that the historical findings of the Japanese scholars who first studied the issue of manual labor in early Ch'an are necessarily erroneous. Obviously, those findings must be judged on their own merits in light of whatever concrete historical evidence may be mustered. I do wish, however, to raise the question of whether the issues of manual labor, economic independence and freedom from patronage can be shown, on the basis of T'ang sources, to have been of explicit concern to Ch'annists in the T'ang, or whether they were first conceived as issues by later (Sung and following) Ch'an and Zen historians who were striving to define the Ch'an tradition in response to the ideological needs of their day.

There is no question that by the Sung, partisans of the Ch'an lineage were stressing communal manual labor as a defining characteristic of Ch'an monasticism. The idea that Pai-chang, as the author of the maxim "A day without working [should be] a day without eating," was the founder of the practice of manual labor by Buddhist monks appears frequently in Sung Ch'an literature; it cannot, however, be found in any source earlier than the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, compiled in 952.[48] One reason that Ch'annists in the Sung stressed the historical importance of manual labor in their tradition was probably to define the Ch'an school as a distinctive entity, and to credit it with originating what was a actually a widespread practice in Sung Chinese Buddhism. Another reason was to deflect criticism from Confucians that the Buddhist clergy was a non-productive drain on the economic resources of the country.

A good example of this may be found in the *Hu-fa lun* (*Discourse in Defense of the Dharma*), written in the early twelfth

century by Chang Shang-ying, a high government official and Buddhist layman. Chang defended the Buddhist order by stressing that monks and nuns did support themselves through agricultural production, and pointed to Pai-chang and other T'ang Ch'an masters as proof that communal labor had been an important part of Buddhist monasticism since ancient times.[49]

Such arguments notwithstanding, the fact was that Ch'an monasteries in the Sung enjoyed imperial and aristocratic patronage, and also derived income from estate lands worked by tenant farmers, and a variety of commercial activities, including oil presses, mills and moneylending.[50] Communities of Ch'an monks were certainly not self-sufficient in the sense of subsisting solely on the fruits of their own labors, but they did engage in physical work such as gardening, wood cutting, building maintenance and cleaning as a part of their daily routine.[51] The practice of manual labor by monks in Sung and Yüan monasticism can thus be seen as a kind of symbolic gesture which honored the ideal embodied in Pai-chang's maxim, and helped to deflect the charge of economic parasitism, even if the practice did not actually have much economic significance.

Sung and Yüan period Ch'annists themselves, of course, did not see the matter in quite this way. In addition to the economic argument, such as that advanced by layman Chang in his *Hu-fa lun*, there was a tendency to explain and justify the practice of manual labor in terms of spiritual discipline. For example, in the *Huan-chu-an ch'ing-kuei* (*Rules for the Huan-chu Hermitage*), written by the Ch'an Master Chung-feng Ming-pen (1263-1323) in 1317, we find the idea (later picked up by Hakuin) that meditation in the midst of activity, especially manual labor, was a necessary counterpart to quiet seated meditation.[52]

The Sung and Yüan conception of the history and significance of manual labor in Ch'an, which is to say the "traditional" conception, has clearly continued to exert a strong influence on the modern historical study of this issue. Again, I question whether notions of the economic and spiritual signifi-

cance of manual labor that were current in Sung and Yüan Ch'an circles can legitimately be traced back to the T'ang and used to interpret, or speculate about, the activities and motives of Ch'annists in the ninth century and before. As we saw in Chapter Four, various T'ang sources such as the Tun-huang lamp histories, the records of Shen-hui, and the writings of Tsung-mi show that many Ch'annists in the T'ang were greatly concerned with obtaining imperial patronage and imperial recognition of their lineages as inheritors of the orthodox Buddha Dharma.[53] If anything, the tendency in the lamp histories is to exaggerate and boast about the high level patronage enjoyed by eminent Ch'an masters, not to deprecate dependence on patrons as a sign of worldliness or spiritual subservience.

Kondō, who supports Ui's thesis that the East Mountain communities were economically self-sufficient, admits that not all of the subsequent branches of the Ch'an lineage that claimed to inherit Hung-jen's Dharma were similarly free from dependence on patronage.[54] Dividing the T'ang Ch'an lineage into four main branches (the lines of Shen-hsiu, Hui-neng, Chih-hsien, and Niu-t'ou), Kondō stresses that they had different modes of economic support, just as they had different doctrines. The Northern school of Shen-hsiu, he agrees with Shiina, received support from the imperial court and from aristocratic patrons. But he argues that the Southern school of Hui-neng, at least in the early stages of its development, represented the opposite tendency. Kondō believes it was the Southern school that best upheld the ideal of economic independence which had first appeared in the East Mountain monasteries of the fourth and fifth ancestors. However, he points out, a study of the Sung lamp histories and "recorded sayings" literature reveals that from the middle of the ninth century, 91% of all the Southern school Ch'an masters who are reported to have founded new monasteries had financial backing from lay patrons and/or the state.[55] Kondō concludes that the economic self-sufficiency that characterized early Ch'an monasticism began to break down from the beginning of the ninth century, and was almost entirely gone by

the middle of the tenth.[56]

Kondō, of course, belongs to the school of thought which traces a process of gradual degeneration in "pure" Ch'an monastic institutions from the early ninth century (the time when Pai-chang's original rules -- the "old Pai-chang code" -- were supposedly in force) down through the Sung. His conclusions should be balanced with the findings of Shiina, who challenges Ui's romantic vision of the East Mountain monasteries and demonstrates that the characterization of those monasteries as self-sufficient is at best highly speculative. The point on which these two scholars (as well as most others) are in agreement is that Southern school monks in Ma-tsu's lineage established independent Ch'an monasteries. In this connection, both Kondō and Shiina admit that figures such as Ma-tsu, Nan-ch'üan, and Pai-chang did have lay patrons, but they hasten to add that a "spirit of independence" led those Southern school masters to try to build temples with a minimum of patronage.[57]

Summing up the research that has been done to date on the question of economically self-sufficient Ch'an monasteries, we may conclude that if such monasteries ever existed, they did so for a very short period of time during the early ninth century, and were found only among the followers of Ma-tsu's Hung-chou school. Thus, if we wish to follow scholars such as Ui, Nakamura Hajime,[58] and Kondō in positing economic self-sufficiency through the practice of manual labor as a defining characteristic of Ch'an monasticism, we must be prepared to admit that Ch'an monasticism was a very short-lived and tenuous phenomenon, if indeed it ever existed.

Scholars today are divided, we have seen, on the question of whether distinctive Ch'an monastic rules were first formulated in Pai-chang's day or whether they were in existence from an earlier period. A similar disagreement divides modern historians of Ch'an on the issue of when (not if) the characteristically Ch'an practice of communal manual labor by monks began. Inaba, whose study of communal manual labor in the history of Ch'an focused mainly on the monastic codes that survive from

Sung times on, held that Pai-chang, the "incarnation of the [egalitarian] spirit of labor," was the first to espouse communal labor and the first to put it into practice.[59] In conjunction with this claim, Inaba cited the following well known anecdote:

> Whenever there was work (*tso-wu*) the master [Pai-chang] was always first in the assembly to begin laboring. The assembly could not bear his working, so they hid the tools, and begged him to rest. The master said, "I have no [special] merit! How can I put others to work [for me]?" When the master had looked all over for the tools and not found them, he also refused to eat. Thus there was the saying, "A day without work, a day without eating," which spread throughout the land.[60]

Suzuki also credited Pai-chang with first implementing the practice of communal manual labor.[61] Both of these scholars accepted in entirety the traditional (Sung) understanding of how manual labor came to play a central role in Ch'an monasticism. Ui and others, as we have seen, challenged the traditional account by arguing that the practice of manual labor really began in the East Mountain communities of Tao-hsin and Hung-jen. But despite their differences on the matter of timing, virtually all scholars writing on this issue have taken it for granted that the practice of manual labor by monks was something that began in the Ch'an school, and was definitive of Ch'an style monasticism.

However, to sustain the notion that communal productive labor was characteristic of a distinctively Ch'an form of monastic practice, it is necessary to demonstrate not only that such labor took place in communities of Ch'an monks, but also that it was unknown in mainstream ("non-Ch'an") Chinese Buddhist monasteries in the T'ang or earlier. No such studies have been made. Instead, it is simply assumed by historians of Ch'an that communal labor, and the doctrinal rationale for it (the idea that spiritual cultivation is not limited to any particular external forms, but may be pursued in the midst of every sort of ordinary activity), was the Ch'an school's innovation and its great contribution to the sinicization of Buddhism.

I have not made a thorough study of the subject, but even a casual perusal of the sources for the study of Chinese Buddhist monasticism named in Chapter Six is enough to show that the traditional (Sung) Ch'an claims that Pai-chang invented communal manual labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) and that communal labor is unique to the Ch'an school are dubious. In the first place, there is historical evidence which suggests that farming by Buddhist monks was already widespread enough in early fifth century China to become an object of anti-Buddhist criticism.[62] There is also evidence to show that communal labor was practiced in the early seventh century at the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery, which was founded with imperial patronage on Mt. T'ien-t'ai by followers of T'ien-t'ai Chih-i (538-597).[63] Communal labor was also practiced in the mid-ninth century in a monastery in North China (a "Korean cloister") visited by the Japanese monk pilgrim Ennin.[64] That monastery had three followers of the "*ch'an* approach" (*ch'an-men*) among its monk, nun and lay residents,[65] but Ennin did not call it a "Ch'an" monastery. Moreover, although communal labor was practiced, it is clear from Ennin's account that the monastery's main means of support was not subsistence farming, but rather the patronage of a local warlord. As these few examples show, a broad study of sources pertaining to T'ang and pre-T'ang Buddhist monastic institutions in general is necessary if the notion that productive labor was unique to or characteristic of early Ch'an monasticism is to be evaluated critically. Here again, the very assumption that the early Ch'an school was an independent sectarian entity has inclined historians to restrict their research to sources associated with the Ch'an tradition, and to eschew a broader comparative approach.

Yanagida and Kagamishima at least acknowledge the fact that manual labor by monks was not limited to the Ch'an school. Having admitted as much, however, both scholars go to extraordinary lengths to distinguish the manual labor practiced by Ch'an monks from that engaged in by other members of the Buddhist clergy. Yanagida claims that the fifth ancestor Hung-jen's man-

ual labor "differed greatly in content" from that of earlier non-Ch'an monks because it was based on the understanding that the true nature (Buddha Nature) is equally pure in all persons, an understanding that transformed even the most despised and lowly jobs into Buddhist practice.[66] Yanagida's argument, in other words, is that the manual labor of Ch'an monks differed in spirit, not in actual content, from that of other Buddhist monks. But there is nothing in the T'ang biographies of Hung-jen to suggest that he ever explicitly assigned such a value or meaning to physical work. Kagamishima takes the position that Pai-chang's manual labor was different from that of contemporary "ordinary monasteries" (such as the one visited by Ennin) by virtue of the fact that it was "productive."[67] The implication is that Ch'an monasteries became self-sufficient due to their agricultural production, whereas in other monasteries manual labor did not serve that function. Kagamishima's argument is circular, however, because the only evidence that "Ch'an monasteries" were self-sufficient is the fact that there are records of Ch'an monks engaging in communal labor. We might just as well use the evidence of Ennin's diary to conclude that the practice of manual labor in T'ang Buddhist monasteries is *not* a reliable indicator of economic self-sufficiency. These attempts by Yanagida and Kagamishima to salvage something of the Ch'an tradition's claim to having invented manual labor for monks amount to little more than latter day Zen apologetics.

Notes to Chapter VII

1 Kondō Ryōichi, "*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono genkei," in *Hokkaidō komazawa daigaku kenkyū kiyō* 3 (Nov., 1968), pp. 25–28.

2 Ōkubo Dōshū, *Dōgen zenji shingi*, cited in Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen zenji to *Hyakujō shingi*, in *Dōgen zenji to sono in'yō kyōten, goroku no kenkyū*, pp. 183–184; Ui Hakuju, "Hyakujō shingi no rekishi teki igi," in *Bukkyō shisō kenkyū*, pp. 644–645; Ōishi Shuyū, "Ko shingi ni tsuite," in *Zengaku kenkyū* 44 (Oct., 1955), p. 82; Kondō Ryōichi, "*Hyakujō shingi* to *Eihei shingi*," in IBK 13.1 (Jan., 1965), p. 297.

3 Kagamishima Genryū, "Kaisetsu," in Kagamishima, Satō Tatsugen and Kosaka Kiyū, eds., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, p. 1; idem, "Dōgen zenji to *Hyakujō shingi*," pp. 181–192; Kosaka Kiyū, "Shingi hensen no teiryū," in *Shūgaku kenkyū* 5 (April, 1963), pp. 124–126; Imaeda Aishin, "Shingi no denrai to rufu," in *Chūsei zenshū shi no kenkyū*, p. 56; Harada Kōdō, "*Hyakujō shingi* to *Zennen shingi*," in *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō* 1 (Nov., 1969), pp. 5–14. The year 988 is when the *Sung kao-seng chuan* was completed; 1004 is the date of compilation of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, in which a redaction of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is found; 1103 is the date of compilation of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*. The compilers of these texts all state that Pai-chang was the author of the first Ch'an monastic rule, but none of them seem to have actually seen Pai-chang's rules.

4 Okimoto Katsumi, "Hyakujō kogi ni tsuite," in *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 12 (March, 1980), pp. 51–61; idem, "Shingi kenkyū nōto," in Sasaki Kyōgo, ed., *Kairitsu shisō no kenkyū*, pp. 405–437.

5 Kimura Shizuo, "Ko shingi kō," in *Zengaku kenkyū* 31 (July, 1959), p. 42; Kondō, "*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono genkei," pp. 28–29.

6 Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, pp. 134–138; idem, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," in Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 171–173.

7 Kondō, in particular, takes into account such sources as Pai-chang's stupa inscription and biographies appearing in the *Tsu-t'ang chi*, *Sung kao-seng chuan* and *Ching-te ch'uan-teng*

Iu ("*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono genkei," pp. 17–48).

8 Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen zenji to *Hyakujō shingi*"; pp. 181–192; idem, "Hyakujō ko shingi henka katei no ichi kōsatsu," in *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 25 (March. 1967), pp. 1–13; idem, "Kaisetsu." in Kagamishima, Satō, and Kosaka, eds., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*; idem, "*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono igi," in (Aichi Gakuin Daigaku) *Zen kenkyūjo kiyō* 6 & 7 (1976), pp. 117–134; Kondō Ryōichi, "*Hyakujō shingi* to *Zennen shingi*," in IBK 17.2 (March, 1969), 773–775; idem, "*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono genkei," pp. 31–39; Harada, "*Hyakujō shingi* to *Zennen shingi*," pp. 5–14; Kosaka, "Shingi hensen no teiryū," pp. 126–128.

9 See Kagamishima, "Kaisetsu," p. 3, and Kondō, "*Hyakujō shingi* to *Zennen shingi*," p. 773, for explicit explanations of this method.

In applying this method, for example, it is allowed that the monastic office of cook (*tien-tso*), which appears in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, probably existed in the "old Pai-chang code," whereas the office of business manager (*chieh-yüan-chu*), which also appears in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, probably did not exist in the "old code," but came into existence as the result of increased commercial activity by Ch'an monasteries in the Northern Sung. In this manner, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* is stripped of Sung "accretions," leaving an "original form" that is presumed to be close to the form of the "old Pai-chang code."

10 Thus, for example, the conclusion that the business manager was not found in the "old Pai-chang code" (see preceding note) rests solely on the assumption that Ch'an mnasteries in the early ninth century did not have sufficient need of such an officer.

11 See p. 174 above.

12 Ui Hakuju, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, pp. 1–81.

13 Yanagida Seizan, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," in Nishitani, ed., *Zen no rekishi: Chūgoku*, p. 7; also see pp. 16–17 above.

14 For example, David W. Chappell remarks that:

> According to Yin-shun [a modern Chinese historian], the practices of Tao-hsin exhibit important differences from the ascetic, hermit tradition of Bodhidharma. Early Ch'an practitioners had followed the formless path of a Pratyekabuddha based on "silent teaching" which eschewed the paraphenalia of rules, ritual, and the methods of meditation. and the secure but confining life inside a monastery. In contrast, Tao-hsin's principle of "establishing a Buddha-image in the temple" (*ying-yü li-hsiang*) indicates that he advocated some form of institutionalization....

("The Teachings of the Fourth Ch'an Patriarch Tao-hsin," in Lai and Lancaster, eds., *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, pp. 90,

101-102).

15 T 50 (no. 2060), pp. 551b ff.

16 Yanagida, op cit., p. 17.

17 T 50 (no. 2060), p. 552b.

18 See, for example, T 50 (no. 2060), pp. 556b, 556c, 557c, 558c, 560b, 562c, 563c, etc.

19 T 25 (no. 1509).

20 T 17 (no. 783).

21 E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 260-261.

22 Ui Hakuju, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, pp. 81-90.

23 See, for example, the quotations of Martin Collcutt and Philip Yampolsky on pp. 15-16 above; also the quotation of David Chappell in note 14 above.

24 T 50 (no. 2060), p. 606b.

25 Ui, p. 86.

26Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, p. 84.

27 Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshū shi," pp. 20-25.

28 Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, p. 1-2 (in Chinese text).

29 Ibid, p. 2.

30 Shiina Kōyū, "Tōzan hōmon keisei no haikei," in *Shūgaku kenkyū* 12 (March, 1970), p. 177.

31 Ibid, p. 182.

32 Kondō, "Tōdai zenshū keizai kiban," pp. 138-139.

33 Ibid, p. 139.

34 Shiina Kōyū, "Shotō zensha no ritsu'in kyojū ni tsuite," in IBK 17.2 (1969), p. 770.

35 Shiina, "Tōzan hōmon," p. 175.

36 Ui, *Zenshū shi kenkyū*, pp. 85-86.

37 Shiina, "Tōzan hōmon," p. 184.

38 Shiina Kōyū, "Sūzan ni okeru hokushū zen no tenkai," in *Shūgaku kenkyū* 10 (March, 1968), pp. 173-185.

39 Shiina, "Shotō zensha no ritsu'in kyojū ni tsuite," p. 771.

40 This is clear from the Japanese pilgrim monk Ennin's descriptions of numerous monasteries he visited in the mid-ninth century.

41 Shiina, "Shotō zensha no ritsu'in kyojū ni tsuite," p. 771-772.

42 Fukuba Hoshū, "Zenshū kyōdan ni okeru keizai seikatsu jō no taido ni tsuite," in *Zengaku kenkyū* 34 (Nov., 1940), p. 133; Fukuba cites this passage from Hakuin's *Orategama* in Gotō Kōson, ed., *Hakuin Oshō zensho* vol. 5 (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1934), p. 129.

43 D. T. Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, p. 33. Suzuki used the context of this work on the life and training of monks in twentieth century Rinzai monasteries (*zendō*) in Japan to cite a number of passages from the Sung Ch'an classics which portray various T'ang Ch'an masters engaged communal manual labor and explain the significance of manual labor in the Zen tradition. In this way he projected the ideology of Hakuin Zen, which was formulated in Tokugawa period (1600–1868) Japan in response to religious and political climate of the day, back onto the T'ang masters, and used Sung hagiographies to elucidate modern Rinzai monastic training! For an idea of the social and religious concerns which led Hakuin to oppose "silent illumination Zen" (*mokushō zen*) and promote "practice in the midst of activity" (*dōchū no kufū*), see his *Orategama*, in Gotō Kōson, ed., *Hakuin Oshō zensho* vol. 5 (Tokyo: Ryūginsha, 1934), pp. 107–209; an English translation appears in Philip B. Yampolsky, trans., *The Zen Master Hakuin: Selected Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

44 Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, p. 34.

45 It is interesting to note, by way of comparison, that Hakuin's arguments for the significance of manual labor in Zen stressed the importance (for samurai) of loyalty to one's lord, and of performing one's duties in accordance with one's class, so as to mantain social stability and harmony (Yampolsky, *The Zen Master Hakuin*, pp. 51–54). Such, of course, were the Confucian flavored ideals of Tokugawa Japan.

46 Inaba Meidō, "Shingi o chūshin to shite mitaru samu kō jōsetsu," Part 2, in *Zengaku kenkyū* 10 (1929), pp. 40–41, 44–45.

47 Inaba, "Samu kō jōsetsu," Part 1, *Zengaku kenkyū* 9 (1929), p. 90.

48 Kondō, "Hyakujō shingi no seiritsu to sono genkei," pp. 23–24.

49 Cited by Michihata Ryōshū, "Chūgoku bukkyō no keizai shisō," in *Fukui Hakushi juju kinen tōyō shisō ronshū*, p. 658.

50 Kagamishima Genryū, "Nansō sōrin no ichi kōsatsu," in *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 19 (March, 1961), pp. 48–62, also in *Dōgen zenji to sono monryū* (Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1961), pp. 30–56; idem, "Hyakujō ko shingi henka katei no ichi kōsatsu," in *Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 25 (March, 1967), pp. 1–13; idem, "Dōgen zenji to hyakujō shingi," in *Dōgen zenji to sono in'yō kyōten, goroku no kenkyū*, pp. 181–192; Kondō Ryōichi, "Tōdai zenshū no keizai kiban," in *Bukkyō to seiji, keizai*, pp. 137–151; Satō Tatsugen, "Hokusō sōrin no keizai seikatsu: *Zennen shingi* o chūshin toshite," in

Komazawa daigaku bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō 25 (March, 1967), pp. 14-28.

51 The widespread practice of manual labor by monks in all large public monasteries in Sung China was attested to by Dōgen in his *Gyōji* Part 1 (DZZ, 1:127).

52 ZZ 2-16-5, p. 497b-c; cited by Michihata in "Chūgoku bukkyō no keizai shisō," p. 656. For information on the influence of Chung-feng's monastic rules on medieval Japanese Zen monasticism, see Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rizai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, p. 129; also Yanagida Seizan, *Rinzai no kafū*, p. 125-126.

53 See pp. 104-105 above.

54 Kondō, "Tōdai zenshū no keizai kiban," p. 142.

55 Ibid, p. 143.

56 Ibid, p. 145.

57 Ibid, p. 144; Shiina, "Shotō zensha no ritsu'in kyōjū ni tsuite," p. 327.

58 Nakamura Hajime, "Zen ni okeru seisan to kinrō no mondai," in *Zen bunka* 2 (Sept., 1955), p. 32.

59 Inaba, "Samu kō jōsetsu," Part 1, p. 90.

60 Ibid; Inaba cites this anecdote as it appears in the biography of Pai-chang in *chüan* 8 of the *T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu* (ZZ 28-4-5), compiled in 1036. Its earliest occurrence is in *chuan* 14 of the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (952) (Yanagida Seizan, ed., *Sodō shū*, *Zengaku sōsho* vol. 4, p. 271a).

61 Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, p. 33.

62 An example of such criticism is found in the *Shih po lun* by Tao-heng (written between 405 and 417); cited by E. Zurcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, p. 262.

63 Kagamishima, "*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono igi," pp. 125, 133 (note 6).

64 Ennin writes, "This cloister for the first time gathered its turnips. The Superior and all the others in the cloister went out and picked the leaves. When the monastic living quarters are out of firewood, all the monks in the cloister, regardless of whether they are old or young, go out and carry firewood" (trans. by Edwin Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary*, p. 150).

65 Ibid, p. 161.

66 Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshūshi,", p. 28.

67 Kagamishima, "*Hyakujō shingi* no seiritsu to sono genkei," p. 124.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVIDENCE OF THE *CH'AN-MEN KUEI-SHIH*

The brief text known as the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (*Regulations of the Ch'an Approach*) is the single most important source for the institutional history of early Ch'an. The significance of this text, we have seen, derives from two factors. First, it can be demonstrated to be the sole source for the Ch'an school's traditional account of its institutional history, which identifies Pai-chang as the founding father of an independent system of Ch'an school monasticism in the T'ang. In the second place, because the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and a few texts which cite it are the earliest sources to explicitly describe the arrangement of pre-Sung Ch'an monasteries, modern historians too have seized on them as the natural starting point for the study of early Ch'an monastic institutions. Whether or not they accept all the specific claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, most modern scholarly accounts of early Ch'an monastic practice have been based primarily on an interpretation of the text.

For all of its historical importance, however, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* has remained a loosely studied and poorly understood text. Despite the fact that a number of redactions have come down to us, some of which differ in significant ways, the text has yet to be established in a critical edition. Scholars working in the institutional history of early Ch'an have been mostly content to rely on the redaction found in the *Taishō* edition of the *Ching-te chuang-teng lu*, where it is appended to the biography of Pai-chang under the heading "Ch'an-men kuei-shih".[1] This heading is conventionally used by scholars to

refer to the text in a general way,[2] although the other redactions, citations and pericopes of the text appear in Sung and Yüan collections under a number of different rubrics. The assumption seems to be that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* proper -- i.e. the redaction of the text included in the *(Taishō) Ching-te chuang-teng lu* -- is the authoritative edition, or the one which is closest to the original text. At least one extensive quotation of an earlier recension of the text survives elsewhere, however, as well as what is probably a lengthy pericope of an earlier recension. As we shall see, reliance on a single late redaction, usually that found in the *(Taishō) Ching-te chuang-teng lu*, has led to some fundamental errors in interpretation, such as mistakenly regarding the interlinear commentary and the main body of the text as the work of the same author.

One of the aims of the present chapter is to compare the various redactions and pericopes of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that have come down to us and to determine, in broad outline, the probable relationships between them. This is the first step toward establishing a critical edition of the text. I shall not complete that task in the present dissertation, but shall present what might be termed a critical translation of the *(Taishō) Ching-te chuang-teng lu* edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* -- that is, a translation which takes into account other editions and pericopes, especially those that are demonstrably closer to the root text.

Another issue that has received insufficient critical study is the question of the standpoint from which the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was written. As we saw in Chapter Seven, some historians have read the text as a set of rules in its own right, assuming that it was composed for the purpose of regulating a monastic community.[3] Others have interpreted the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* as a summary of the salient points in an actual set of rules, perhaps rules written by Pai-chang himself.[4] Within the Ch'an and Zen schools, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* has traditionally been regarded as the "preface" to a set of monastic regulations, popularly called the "Pai-chang Code" (*Pai-chang*

ch'ing-kuei; *Hyakujō shingi*), that is believed to have been written by Pai-chang.[5] The idea that the text was originally composed as a preface derives from the fact that an influential Yüan dynasty monastic code, the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* (*Imperial Edition of the Pai-chang Code*), includes a redaction of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* under the heading "Preface to the Old Monastic Code" (*ku ch'ing-kuei hsü*).[6] The heading "Old Code" is understood as a reference to an original "Pai-chang Code," called the "Old Pai-chang Code" (*Pai-chang ku ch'ing-kuei*; *Hyakujō ko shingi*) to distinguish it from the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* itself. Scholars debate the issues of whether an "Old Pai-chang Code" ever existed or not, and what the relationship between the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and the "Old Pai-chang Code" (real or mythical) is. In that debate, however, insufficient attention is paid to the internal structure and grammar of the *Ch'an-men ch'ing-kuei*, which reveal a great deal about the purpose for which the text was written. A second aim of the present chapter is to elucidate this internal evidence. The evidence shows that the *Ch'an-men kuei* was certainly not a set of rules in its own right, nor the "preface" to a set of rules. It is not impossible that the text was composed as a summary of an actual set of rules (the "Old Pai-chang Code") that the author had in front of him, but for reasons that are explained below I doubt that scenario as well.

As I suggested in Chapter Six, the specific claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* concerning the organization of "Ch'an monasteries" in Pai-chang's day cannot be accepted without corroborating evidence from T'ang and pre-T'ang sources, but they are valuable as hypotheses which may guide research in the institutional history of early Ch'an. This being so, it is important to establish as carefully as possible what the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* does and does not say about about the arrangement of T'ang Ch'an monasteries. A careful content analysis of this sort is also necessary because modern scholarly accounts of early Ch'an monastic institutions have relied heavily upon this one source, and have tended to read more information into the

text than is explicitly stated there. In the present chapter I shall also discuss the content of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in detail, not for the purpose of critically evaluating the historicity of each of the specific claims made in the text, but rather to clarify the claims themselves, in the interests of guiding future research.

Redactions of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*

Redactions, quotations and pericopes of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* are found in eight Sung and Yüan dynasty sources.[7] In the first place, there are three documents which are (or contain) complete redactions of the text in its fully developed form:

(1) the "Ch'an-men kuei-shih" ("Regulations of the Ch'an Approach") [hereafter referred to as the "Ch'uan-teng lu edition"]: appended to the biography of Pai-chang in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*[8] (*The Ching-te [era] Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*), a collection of Ch'an school hagiographies compiled in 1004 by Tao-yüan (n.d.) and edited by Yang-i (968-1024);

(2) a section of the "Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung" ("A Commentary on Pai-chang's Rules") [hereafter referred to as the "Ch'an-yüan edition"]: appended to the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*[9] (*Pure Rules for Ch'an Monasteries*), compiled by Tsung-tse (1009-1092), with a preface by Tsung-tse dated 1103; and

(3) the "Ku ch'ing-kuei hsü" ("Preface to the Old Monastic Code") [hereafter referred to as the "Ch'ih-hsiu edition"]: appended to the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*[10] (*Imperial Edition of the Pai-chang Code*), compiled by Te-hui (n.d.) in 1336.

Secondly, there are three documents which contain extensive or nearly complete quotations or pericopes of some redaction of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*:

(4) the "Pai-chang Huai-hai chuan" ("Biography of Pai-chang Huai-hai"), in the *Sung kao-seng chuan*[11] (*Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks*), compiled by the Vinaya master Tsan-ning (919-1001) from 982-988 [the pertinent section of the "Pai-chang Huai-hai chuan" is hereafter referred to as the "Kao-seng chuan pericope"];

(5) the entry "Ch'an chu-ch'ih" ("Ch'an Practice"), listed under the heading "Chu-ch'ih" ("Buddhist Practice") in the *Shih-shih yao-lan*[12] (*A Buddhist Glossary*), a lexicon compiled by Tao-ch'eng (n.d.) in 1019 [the pertinent section of

the entry "Ch'an chu-ch'ih" is hereafter referred to as the "Yao-lan citation"]; and

(6) a biography of Pai-chang, listed as entry no. 17 in *chüan* 15, beginning "*Shih sui cheng-yüeh Pai-chang Huai-hai Ch'an-shih shih-chi*..." ("In this year [814] the Ch'an Master Pai-chang Huai-hai died"), in the *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*[13] (*A Record of the Successive Generations of Buddhas and Ancestors*), a chronology of historical events pertaining to the Buddhist order compiled by Nien-ch'ang (d. 1341) in 1333 [the pertinent section of this biography is hereafter referred to as the "T'ung-tsai pericope"].

Finally, there are two documents which contain fragmentary pericopes of some redaction of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*:

(7) the entry "Pieh-li ch'an-chü" ("The separate establishment of Ch'an monasteries"), in the *Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh*[14] (*The Great Sung Historical Glossary of [Terms Pertaining to] the Sangha*), compiled by Tsan-ning (919-1001) [the pertinent section of the "Pieh-li ch'an-chü" is hereafter referred to as the "Seng shih-lüeh pericope"]; and

(8) a brief notice under the heading "Chiu-nien" ("The ninth year [of the Yung-chen era, i.e. 814]," beginning "*Pai-chang Huai-hai Ch'an-shih wang*" ("Ch'an Master Pai-chang Huai-hai died..."), in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*[15] (*A Record of the Succession of Buddhas and Patriarchs*), a chronology of historical events pertaining to the Buddhist order compiled by Chih-p'an (n.d.) in 1271 [the pertinent section of this notice is hereafter referred to as the "T'ung-chi pericope"].

The Complete Editions

A comparison of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" and "Ch'ih-hsiu" editions of the *Ch'an-men ch'ing kuei* reveals an almost perfect congruence between them. With one important exception, variations consist only of a few insertions, ommissions or differences of a single Chinese character, none of which result in any significant changes in meaning. The exception has to do with five interlinear comments that appear in "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, clearly identified as such by the fact that they are written in smaller characters. The first two of these comments are not found at all in the "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition, and the latter three are merged into the main body of the text, so that they

are no longer distinguishable as comments. A comparison of the "Ch'an-yüan" edition and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition again reveals a nearly perfect congruence, with the exception of the interlinear comments. The first two interlinear comments found in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition are preserved as comments in the "Ch'an-yüan" edition, but the latter three, as is the case with the "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition, are merged into the main body of the "Ch'an-yüan" text. From these facts we may conclude that Te-hui's "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition (1335) and Tsung-tse's "Ch'an-yüan" edition (1103) were both based on a stemma of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, in which the three final comments had become merged into the text but the first two comments were preserved as they were. Te-hui, or perhaps some intervening editor, must have removed the first two comments when preparing the "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition. In any case, it is clear that the three complete editions of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* are essentially the same redaction of the text, and that the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition best preserves the original form of that redaction.

With the exception of the interlinear comments, the "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition is so nearly identical to the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that it is of little exegetical value. The "Ch'an-yüan" edition, however, has an additional feature which makes it a valuable interpretative tool: a commentary in verse form by Tsung-tse that is interspersed with the main body of the text. This commentary, which interrupts the text in eleven places, is useful for several reasons. In the first place, the very placement of the breaks in the text shows how Tsung-tse, a literate Chinese living at the turn of the twelfth century, understood the grammatical structure of certain passages that could, because of a lack of punctuation in the original, be interpreted in several ways. Secondly, the placement of the comments shows what Tsung-tse, a Ch'an monk whose speciality was monastic regulations and institutional forms, took to be the salient points of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Finally, because Tsung-tse's comments are actually capsulized verse summaries of each section of text, and often are

rearrangements of the same words and phrases found in the original, they are an excellent indication of how he construed the meaning of certain passages which strike us today as obscure or ambiguous.

The form that Tsung-tse's commentary takes, it may be noted, is the same as the four-line poems (*sung*) that comprise the first level of commentary in Sung dynasty koan collections such as the *Pi-yen lu* (*The Blue Cliff Record*). This type of poem, while expressing the commentator's understanding of or reaction to the gist of a koan, also tends to echo, and thereby "extol" or "laud" (this is the basic meaning of *sung*) the koan. Tsung-tse's use of this type of verse commentary is a good indication that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, like the Ch'an school koans, "recorded sayings" and hagiographies that were systematically compiled in the Northern Sung dynasty, had come to be regarded as orthodox scripture, revered as a repository of the wisdom of the ancient (T'ang) patriarchs. The inclusion of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in the imperially sponsored *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* also amounted to an endorsement of the text as orthodox history. The same may be said, of course, of its inclusion in the imperially commissioned *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* during the Yüan dynasty.

In incorporating the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* into his *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* under the heading "*Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung*," Tsung-tse did not stop with the addition of a verse commentary. He also took some thirty procedural rules pertaining to monastic life -- most likely rules he himself composed -- and appended them to the text of the "Ch'an-yüan" edition, interspersing them with commentary poems (*sung*) in such a way that they appear to belong to the original text of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Although they touch on many of the same issues, the thirty rules are far more detailed and specific than any that appear in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Moreover, the system of monastic training they relate to is clearly none other than that layed out in the main body of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* itself. There can be no question, therefore, of them being rules

actually formulated in Pai-chang's day. One may wonder why Tsung-tse bothered to include these rules under the rubric of the "*Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung*" when, in fact, he had already dealt with most of the points they cover in the main body of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*. The reason, perhaps, was that Tsung-tse wished to endow them with the tremendous authority associated with Pai-chang's name. By doing so, he could he could not only increase the chances that the thirty rules he composed would be adopted by the monastic community, but could also create the impression that the main body of the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* itself was based on rules composed by Pai-chang.

Most of the major (extant) Sung and Yüan dynasty Ch'an monastic codes that were written after the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* payed homage to Pai-chang as the founder of an independent system of monastic training, and claimed that they conveyed the essence of Pai-chang's rules.[16] In this sense, *all* Ch'an school monastic rules came to be regarded as "Pai-chang's rules" in the Sung and Yüan. This is especially clear in the case of the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*, which was conceived as an authoritative compilation of all previously existing monastic codes, and was published as the "imperial edition" (*ch'ih-hsiu*) of "Pai-chang's monastic rules." The attribution of monastic regulations to Pai-chang, it may be said, became a way of sanctifying them and rendering them morally binding. In the earlier Vinaya tradition, a similar function was served by presenting specific rules regulating monkish behavior as actual pronouncements made by the Buddha in response to various ethical problems that arose among his followers.

The "T'ung-chi" Pericope

The "T'ung-chi" pericope is a very brief (four lines in the *Taishō* edition) excerpt, slightly rearranged in word order, that appears to be taken from the "Ch'an-yüan" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. The pericope itself, due to its relatively late date of publication (1271), sheds no light on the development of that text. A comment which follows it in the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* is

of some interest, however, because it is one of the earliest sources to state explicitly from a historical perspective that "in later generations [Pai-chang's rules] were widely spread, and came to be known as the 'monastic code for Ch'an monasteries' (*ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*)."[17]

The "T'ung-tsai" Pericope

A comparison of the "T'ung-tsai" pericope with the three complete editions of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* reveals that it is a carefully crafted synopsis of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, created by stripping that edition of all explanatory and evaluative remarks and leaving only the bare bones of purely expository (factual) statements. This was done so skillfully that, if the "T'ung-tsai" pericope appeared in a source that pre-dated the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (compiled 1004), one would immediately suspect that the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition had been created by adding explanatory and evaluative comments to the "T'ung-tsai" pericope. If that were the case, of course, the "T'ung-tsai" pericope would not be a pericope at all, but the root text of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Such an evaluation of this Yüan dynasty document is rendered impossible by the very late date (1333) of the collection in which it appears (the *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*). The exegetical value of the "T'ung-tsai" pericope is limited, therefore, but the document is of interest nevertheless, because it shows what Nien-chang, the compiler of the *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai*, took to be factual core of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. In this sense, the "T'ung-tsai" pericope can be regarded as a Yüan dynasty commentary on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, and not merely a citation of it.

The "Yao-lan" Citation

All of the documents mentioned thus far have been based in some way on the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. The significance of the "Yao-lan" citation lies in the

fact that it is a direct quotation from an earlier redaction of the text, one that was included in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* (*The Great Sung Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*), perhaps under the heading, "*Ch'an-men chu-ch'ih kuei-shih*" ("Ch'an Regulations for Upholding [Buddhist] Practice"). Before quoting the text, Tao-ch'eng, the compiler of the *Shih-shih yao-lan*, makes the following statement:

> According to the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* [*The Great Sung Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*] bestowed [i.e. sponsored] by the Imperial Court, which I humbly quote, the Ch'an regulations for upholding Buddhist practice (*ch'an-men chu-ch'ih kuei-shih*) were first layed down from [the time of] Huai-hai, Ch'an Master Ta-chih of Mt. Pai-chang in Hung-chou. In brief, the text reads as follows: ... [the citation of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* begins here].[18]

The "*Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*" referred to in such deferential terms by Tao-ch'eng in 1019 was evidently the collection which later came to be known as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, presented to the Northern Sung emperor Chen-tsung upon its completion in 1004, the first year of the Ching-te era (1004-1007). Tao-ch'eng's citation of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is thus taken from the original edition of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, whereas the *Taishō* version of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* is based on a Yüan edition published in the Yen-yu era (1314-1320). It is evident from Tao-ch'eng's prefatory remarks that the heading "*Ch'an-men kuei-shih*" found in later editions of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* was actually a shortened form of the phrase "*ch'an-men chu-ch'ih kuei-shih*." Although it is not absolutely certain from Tao-ch'engs remarks, we may surmise that the longer phrase was the heading that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* originally bore in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*.

Tao-ch'eng's citation of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was extensive, but unfortunately not complete. We may suppose, although there is no way of being certain, that the text he had before him had not yet had added to it the interlinear comments that appear in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. His "Yao-lan" citation, at least, does not include any material found in the "Ch'uan-

teng lu" edition as interlinear commentary. With the exception of the comments, which Tao-ch'eng might have declined to quote even if they did exist in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension, the "Yao-lan" citation includes passages corresponding very almost perfectly in content to approximately ninety percent of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition.[19]

A question which arises, then, is whether all or part of the material missing from the "Yao-lan" citation existed in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension and was omitted by Tao-ch'eng, or whether it did not exist in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension and was added later to the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. In his prefatory remarks, Tao-ch'eng indicated that his citation was an "abbreviated" (*lüeh*) one, so it is certainly possible that the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension already contained those passages found in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition but missing from the "Yao-lan" citation. On the other hand, Tao-ch'eng could have meant that his account of Pai-chang's rules was "brief" in the sense of being a mere citation of an existing source that did not add any further information.

In any case, passages nearly identical to roughly ninety percent of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition are found in the "Yao-lan" citation. Where discrepancies in wording exist, we may confidently assume that the "Yao-lan" citation is closer to the original *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension than the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. This is true not only because Tao-ch'eng copied directly from the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*, which had been published only eleven years earlier, but also because he would have been loathe to willfully modify in any way, under his own name, a text included in an imperially sponsored anthology. Mistakes by later copyists can never be completely ruled out, of course, but we may be sure that the "Yao-lan" citation as Tao-ch'eng originally wrote it was taken verbatim from the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*.

The "Kao-seng chuan" Pericope

The issue of the contents of the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is complicated by the fact that Tsan-ning's "Kao-seng chuan" pericope happens to contain much of the material found in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition but missing from the "Yao-lan" citation.[20] Tsan-ning's completion of the *Sung kao-seng chuan* in 988 preceded Tao-yüan's compilation of the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* by some sixteen years, but Tsan-ning could have based his description of Pai-chang's monastic rules on an early recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* identical or very similar to the one that Tao-yüan included in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*. If this can be shown to be the case, then we can also conclude that the passages missing from the "Yao-lan" citation in fact existed in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension, and that they were simply omitted by Tao-ch'eng when he quoted that work. It is conceivable, however, that Tsan-ning based his description of Pai-chang's rules on some completely different text, or perhaps recorded for the first time what had been a purely oral tradition. If either one of these latter possibilities was the case, then the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope was not excerpted from the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* at all, but nevertheless shared a common source with the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the text, or was itself a source that the author of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition drew excerpts from. In short, the existence of identical passages in the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition can be explained in one of three ways: either (1) the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope was based on a recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in existence before 988; or (2) the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* borrowed passages from the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope sometime after 988; or (3) both the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* quoted identical passages from some third work in existence before 988.[21]

Since many of the passages of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition missing from Tao-ch'eng's citation of the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* are found verbatim in Tsan-ning's "Kao-seng chuan" pericope,

it is not inconceivable that the author of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition (perhaps Tao-yüan) augmented the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* with passages excerpted from the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope. This was almost certainly not the case, however, for two reasons. In the first place, a portion of the material missing from Tao-ch'eng's "Yao-lan" citation is worded significantly differently in the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition.[22] The differences, as we shall see later in this chapter, are best explained as Vinaya master Tsan-ning's attempt to mitigate the impression given in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that Pai-chang rejected the Vinaya tradition. Secondly, there are two passages that are identical in the "Yao-lan" citation and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, but worded quite differently in the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope.[23] This shows that, in at least these instances, the author of the "Ch'uan-ten lu" edition accepted the information he found in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension and did not try to emend it on the basis of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope, if he indeed he consulted Ts'an-ning's work at all.

Another factor to consider is that identical passages appear in the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope, the "Yao-lan" citation, and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. Thus, whether or not the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition derived any passages from the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope that were not in the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension, the problem of the relationship between the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension still remains: was one based on the other, or did they share a common source?

It is not possible on the basis of the existing evidence to resolve this question with absolute certainty, but the most probable answer is that the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope was indeed (as I have indicated by calling it a "pericope") based on the recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that was incorporated into the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*. For one thing, upon comparing the grammatical structure of the two documents, it is much easier to see how the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope could have been

pieced together from phrases selected from the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* than it is to envision the opposite process, i.e. a padding of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope with additional material to produce the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Both the "Yao-lan" citation and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* read well as independent texts, with smooth and logical internal transitions, but the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope is somewhat disjointed, as one might expect in a text that was composed of brief excerpts strung together. In particular, two phrases that are connected in the "Yao-lan" citation and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition are separated in the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope, resulting in a break in the natural flow of reasoning.[24] This could be the result of a later copyist's error, of course, but it is more likely the result of Ts'an-ning's piecemeal borrowing from the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Moreover, if the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension had been based in part on the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope, it would have been because Ts'an-ning had recorded information about Pai-chang's rules that did not appear in other sources. It is doubtful, however, that Ts'an-ning, whose sobriquet was "Tiger of the Vinaya," would have been eager to record or transmit the story of Pai-chang's founding of an independent (non-Vinaya) system of monastic discipline if that story were not so well established as to be impossible to ignore.

For all of these reasons, it seems clear that if any direct borrowing took place between the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* rescension, it was the former that borrowed from the latter, and not vice-versa. The possibility remains, of course, that both documents drew the same excerpts from some earlier source. If so, then given the fact that the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope does not contain any information on Pai-chang's rules that is not also found in the more detailed "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, one of two things must have occurred. Either (1) the author of *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension drew more extensively on that hypothetical source than Tsan-ning did, or (2) both of them drew the same material from that

source, and the author of the *Ta-sung ch'uan lu* recension elaborated on it much more than Ts'an-ning did. Now, if what occurred was the first possibility just described, then for all practical purposes the hypothetical source which both authors drew on may be regarded as simply an earlier recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*: at least, all we can know of its contents is what is contained in the "Yao-lan" citation and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. Similarly, if what occurred was the second possibility, then our hypothetical source may be regarded as an earlier recension of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope. In the final analysis, then, speculation on a possible common source for the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension is pointless, for it only leads us back to the issue of which of these two documents was based on the other. That issue having already been decided, we may conclude that the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope was excerpted from some recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, either the one that was incorporated into the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* in 1004 and quoted by Tao-ch'eng in 1019, or perhaps an earlier one now completely lost.

That being so, we may also conclude that the recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* used by Tsan-ning in 988 did contain the passages missing from the "Yao-lan" citation. This means that, among all the sources that have come down to us, the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition best represents the original form of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, at least insofar as it is a complete redaction. As we have seen, however, the "Yao-lan" citation may be considered to better represent the exact wording of the original text of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* than the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. The same cannot be said with certainty of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope, for although Tsan-ning was working with the oldest recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that we have any knowledge of, there are indications that he glossed certain passages in such a way as to present his own point of view on the value of the Vinaya for regulating Buddhist monastic institutions.[25] Nevertheless, the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope is the oldest document we have which mentions Pai-chang's establish-

ment of an independent system of Ch'an monasticism, and the very fact that its author was not an apologist for the Ch'an school attests to the wide acceptance that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account had achieved in the world of Chinese Buddhism in 988. For the purposes of exegesis, the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the remarks by Ts'an-ning that immediately follow it in the *Sung kao-seng chuan* are best treated as an early commentary on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. Tsan-ning's response to that text may not have agreed with the Ch'an school's understanding, but it does shed much light on what the text meant to Ch'annists and other Chinese Buddhists at the end of the tenth century.

The "Seng shih-lüeh" Pericope

The brief "Seng shih-lüeh" pericope is Tsan-ning's summary, making use of a few phrases taken verbatim from the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, of what he considered the main features of Pai-chang's system of monastic training to have been. In brief, these were: (1) the construction of a common hall (*t'ung-t'ang*) outfitted with "long, linked seats" (*ch'ang-lien-ch'uang*) where the monks sat in meditation (*tso-ch'an*) and kept all their personal monkish implements (*tao-chü*); (2) the ritual (*li*) of convening to hear the the abbot's instruction morning and night (*chao-ts'an mu-ch'ing*); (3) the use of stone chimes (*shih-ch'ing*) and "wooden fish" (*mu-yü*) drums to mark the time (for various group activities); (4) the use of the term "elder" (*chang-lao*) to designate the master; (5) the use of the term "acolyte" (*shih-che*) to designate his followers; (6) the use of the term "office managers" (*liao-ssu*) to designate the monastery officers (*chu-shih*); (7) the use of the expression "all invited" (*p'u-ch'ing*) to designate communal labor; (8) the punishment of offending monks by caning them and burning their robes and bowls; and (9) the use of the term "forest" (*ts'ung-lin*) to refer to the monastic establishments where these various new procedures were implemented.[26] All of these features of Ch'an monasteries, Tsan-ning states, began with Pai-chang and

were not the same as in the Vinaya regulations. Prior to Pai-chang, he stresses, the early Ch'an patriarchs such as Bodhidharma, Tao-shin and Hui-neng all resided in monasteries regulated by Vinaya rules (*lü-i*), and did not have their own distinct set of rules even when they resided in separate cloisters (*pieh-yüan*).

With the exception of points (3) and (9) in the above list, everything that Tsan-ning relates about Pai-chang's system of monastic training in the "Seng shih-lüeh" pericope is based on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*. But the "Seng shih-lüeh" pericope is more than just a simple repetition of facts. What is notable about the form of this brief document is that it explains the special nomenclature used in the Ch'an school in terms of ordinary Chinese expressions, as if for the benefit of other Buddhists who might not have understood what they meant. It also reflects Ts'an-ning's point of view as a Vinaya master. Although the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu* recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* stated that early Ch'annists from the first ancestor Bodhidharma to the sixth ancestor Hui-neng and after resided in Vinaya monasteries (*lü-ssu*), Ts'an-ning put more stress on this point in the "Seng shih-lüeh" pericope by adding the specific names of the monasteries where Tao-hsin, Hui-neng and other Ch'an luminaries resided and reiterating that these monasteries were regulated by the Vinaya. Like the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope, therefore, the "Seng shih-lüeh" pericope may be regarded as a sort of commentary by Ts'an-ning on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*.

Since it was clearly intended to introduce the Ch'an school's use of the term *ts'ung-lin* to the uninitiated, point (9) above was probably an explanatory comment added by Ts'an-ning, rather than a phrase he may have found in the recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* he was working from. Point (3) is more intriguing, because it is a straightforward statement of fact akin to the other descriptive statements excerpted from the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, but it does not appear in either the "Yao-lan" citation or the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the

Ch'an-men kuei-shih. Point (3) may have simply been an observation added by Ts'an-ning himself, of course, or it may have existed in the recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that Ts'an-ning was working from. The appearance of this statement concerning "stone chimes" and "wooden fish," in any case, is noteworthy because it is the sole indication that Ts'an-ning may have had access to an early recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* different from the one that was incorporated into the *Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu*. If we knew that such was the case, then we would have to lend more weight to the wording of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope in those instances where it differs from the "Yao-lan" citation and the "Ch'uang-teng lu" edition. The evidence of point (3), however, is too weak to support the theory of a different, earlier recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* known to Ts'an-ning. On the whole, the evidence of the "Seng shih-lüeh" pericope tends to confirm the theory that discrepancies in wording between the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the "Yao-lan" citation and "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition were due to Ts'an-ning's personal advocacy of the Vinaya.

Translations of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*

What follows in this section are translations of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and the "Yao-lan" citation of that text, arranged side by side in columns to facilitate a comparison of their contents. The translation of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition is found in the left column, under the heading "Ch'an Regulations" ("*Ch'an-men kuei-shih*"). This is the rubric given the text in the *Taishō* edition of the *Ching-te chuang-teng lu*,[27] on which the translation is based.[28] The translation of the "Yao-lan" citation is found in the right column under the heading "Ch'an Practice" ("*Ch'an chu-ch'ih*"), as in the *Taishō* edition of the *Shih-shih yao-lan*, on which the translation is based.[29]

As a general rule, when identical or virtually identical passages appear in the two Chinese texts, the same English

wording is used in both translations; only where there are significant discrepancies in the Chinese texts are they translated differently. Passages occurring in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition that have no corresponding passages in the "Yao-lan" citation are aligned with empty spaces in the right column.

The interlinear notes that appear in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, none of which are found in the "Yao-lan" citation, begin in the left column (to which they properly belong), and are printed across the entire width of the page. This has been done to save space, and to distinguish the notes from the main body of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. To repeat, the notes do *not* occur in the "Yao-lan" citation.

I have divided both columns into numbered sections in order to draw attention to salient points in the texts and to provide a frame of reference for the analysis and discussion that is presented later in this chapter. These divisions are not found in the Chinese texts of the "Ch'uan-ten lu" edition and the "Yao-lan" citation. They do, however, correspond closely to the divisions that are created in the "Ch'an-yüan" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* by Tsung-tse's commentary poems. I have indicated the places where Tsung-tse's commentary breaks the latter text by inserting the symbol ">>" in the left column.

Portions of the text in the left column have been underlined. This is to indicate phrases which appear in both the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition and the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope in identical or closely corresponding form. In most cases the order in which these phrases occur is the same in both texts. However, some material corresponding to parts of sections (1) and (3) in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition appears in a different sequence in the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope.

Finally, in two instances I have used empty spaces in the right column to insert notes, in brackets, indicating how the wording of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope differs from the corresponding passage in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition.

"Ch'an Regulations"
("*Ch'an-men kuei-shih*")

(1) From the origination of the Ch'an lineage with Shao-shih [i.e. the First Patriarch Bodhidharma] up until Ts'ao-chi [i.e. the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng] and after, most [followers of the school] resided in Vinaya monasteries (*lü-ssu*). Even when they had separate cloisters (*pieh-yüan*), they did not yet follow [independent] regulations pertaining to preaching the Dharma and upholding Buddhist practice (*chu-ch'ih*). Ch'an Master Pai-chang Ta-chih was always filled with regret on account of this.

(2) He said, "It is my desire that the Way of the Patriarchs be widely propagated. If we wish it to escape destruction in the future, why should we regard the teachings of the various *Agamas* (*A-chi-ao chiao*) as practices to be followed?"

"Ch'an Practice"
("*Ch'an chu-ch'ih*")

According to the *Ta-sung chuan-teng lu* [*The Great Sung Record of the Transmission of the Lamp*] bestowed [i.e. sponsored] by the Imperial Court, which I humbly quote, the Ch'an regulations for upholding Buddhist practice (*ch'an-men chu-ch'ih kuei-shih*) were first layed down from [the time of] Huai-hai, Ch'an Master Ta-chih of Mt. Pai-chang in Hung-chou. In brief (*lüeh*), the text reads as follows:

(1) From the origination of the Ch'an lineage with Shao-shih [i.e. the First Patriarch Bodhidharma] up until Ts'ao-chi [i.e. the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng] and after, most [followers of the school] resided in Vinaya monasteries (*lü-ssu*). Even when they had separate cloisters (*pieh-yüan*), they did not yet follow [independent] regulations pertaining to preaching the Dharma and upholding Buddhist practice (*chu-ch'ih*). Ch'an Master Pai-chang Ta-chih was always filled with regret on account of this.

[The "Kao-seng chuan" pericope reads here: "We practice the Mahāyāna. Why should we regard..."]

Formerly this Sanskrit term was [transliterated as] "*A-han*"; the new way of saying it is "*A-chi-ao*." It means the Hīnayāna teachings.

Someone said, "The *Yü-chia-shih ti lun* [*Commentary on the Stages of the Yogin's Practice*] and the *P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching* [*Sutra of the Bodhisattva's Necklace (Explaining the) Fundamental Practice (of Receiving the Pre-*

cepts)] are [texts containing the] Mahāyāna precepts (*ta-ch'eng chiai-lü*). Why not follow them?" Pai-chang said, "What we hold as essential teachings (*tsung*) is not bound up in the Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna, nor is it completely different from them. We should select [various points] judiciously from a broad range [of earlier Vinaya rules], arrange them into [a set of] regulations (*chih-fan*), and adopt these as our norms." Thereupon he conceived the idea of establishing a Ch'an monastery (*ch'an-chü*) separately.

[The "Kao-seng chuan" pericope reads here: "We are in between the Mahāyana and the Hīnayana."]

(2) He selected judiciously from a broad range [of earlier Vinaya rules], arranged them into [a set of] regulations (*chih-fan*), and adopted these as his fundamental guidelines. Thereupon he conceived the idea of establishing a Ch'an monastery (*ch'an-chü*) separately.

>>

(3) A spiritually perceptive and morally praiseworthy person was to be named as abbot (*chang-lao*), just as in India, where spiritually advanced senior monks were called "Subhūti." When serving as chief instructor (*hua-chu*), [the abbot] was to occupy a 'ten foot square' [quarters] (*fang-chang*); this was to be a room like Vimalakīrti's, not a room for private residence.

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(4) A Buddha hall (*fo-tien*) was not built, and only a Dharma hall (*fa-t'ang*) erected. This was because the current abbot (*tang-tai*), representing the Buddhas and patriarchs in his very person, was to be regarded as the Honored One (*tsun*)."

(4) A Buddha hall (*fo-tien*) was not built in the monastery, and only a Dharma hall (*fa-t'ang*) erected. This was because the current abbot (*tang-tai*), representing the Buddhas and patriarchs in his very person, was to be regarded as the Honored One (*tsun*)."

>>

(5) Those belonging to the assembly of trainees (*hsüeh-chung*), regardless of their numbers or status, all had to enter the Sangha hall (*seng-t'ang*), where they were placed in rows [on the platforms] in accordance with their seniority [as fully ordained Buddhist monks].

(5) Those belonging to the assembly of trainees (*hsüeh-chung*), regardless of their numbers or status, all had to enter among the Sangha (*seng-chung*), where they were placed in rows [on the platforms] in accordance with their seniority [as fully ordained Buddhist monks].

>>

(6) Platforms (*ch'ang-lien-ch'uang*) were constructed [in the Sangha hall], and a robe rack (*i-chia*) provided, [where the trainees] hung up (*kua-ta*) their monkish implements (*tao-chü*).

>>

(7) When reclining, [the trainees] had to lay down their pillows on the edge of the platform (*ch'uang*), and sleep on their right sides in the auspicious posture [of a reclining Buddha]. In order to sit in meditation (*tso-ch'an*) for a long time, they took only a brief rest and then got up again. [Sleeping in this manner] they maintained the proper deportment (*chü wei-i*) at all four times [i.e. when standing, walking, sitting and lying down].

>>

(8) The exception was entering the [abbot's] room to request instruction (*ju-shih ch'ing-i*), which was left up to the diligence of the trainees; neither seniors nor juniors were bound by any set of rules in this regard.

>>

(9) The great assembly (*ta-chung*) of the entire monastery "convened in the morning and gathered in the evening" (*chao-ts'an hsi-chü*) for [the ceremony of] the abbot entering the [Dharma] hall and mounting the pulpit (*shang-t'ang sheng-tso*). The monastery officers (*chu-shih*) and assembly of followers stood in ranks at the sides and listened. Questions and answers between "guest" and "host" [i.e. interlocutors who came forth from the assembly and the abbot] stimulated the raising of essential points of doctrine, which showed how to dwell in accordance with the Dharma.

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(10) Meals [literally, "the fore-

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(10) Meals [literally, "the fore-

noon meal (*chai*) and morning congee (*chou*)"], in accordance with what was proper, were [served only] twice a day, and were [distributed] equally to all. Thus temperance was maintained, and the joint revolving of the [wheels of] Dharma and food was manifested.

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(11) The rule for the practice of communal labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) was for seniors and juniors to do equal work.

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(12) Ten administrative departments were established; these were called "offices" (*liao-she*). Each had one person as chief (*shou-ling*) who supervised a number of other persons in managing [the office's] affairs.

(12) Ten administrative departments were established; these were called "offices" (*liao-she*). Each office (*liao*) had one person as chief (*shou-ling*). He appointed each [of the other persons in the office] to serve in a particular capacity.

The person in charge of rice was listed as the "rice steward" [*fan-t'ou*], the person in charge of vegetable side dishes was listed as the "vegetable steward" [*ts'ai-t'ou*], and so on.

(13) If there was anyone who falsely assumed a title and impersonated [a properly ordained monk], thereby sullying the pure assembly (*ch'ing-chung*), or who otherwise caused clamor and disturbance, the rector (*t'ang-[ssu] wei-na*) controlled the situation by revoking his status of registration (*kua-ta*) [in the Sangha hall] and ordering his expulsion from the monastery: tranquility in the pure assembly was highly valued.

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(14) If the offender had committed a [serious] offense he was beaten with his staff (*chu-chang*). His robe, bowl and other monkish implements were burned in front of the assembled community, and he was [thereby] expelled [from

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the order of Buddhist monks]. He was then thrown out [of the monastery] through a side gate, as a sign of his disgrace.

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(15) If we examine this particular rule in detail, it may be seen to have four benefits. First, it prevents contamination of the pure assembly, and produces respectfulness and faithfulness.

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If a person's three modes of action (*san-yeh*, i.e. bodily, verbal and mental actions) are not good, he should not be permitted to dwell together [with the community]. Those who, according to the Vinaya, would be chastised with the "pure punishment" (*fan-t'an*, = Skt., *brahma-daṇḍa*) [of never being spoken to by other Buddhists], should simply be expelled from the monastery. Only when the pure assembly is pacified [in this way] will respectfulness and faithfulness be produced.

Second, it prevents damage to the image of the Sangha, and accords with the Buddha's regulations.

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The punishment must be carried out when it is appropriate. If [an offender] is allowed to keep his Buddhist monks' robes (*fa-fu*), it will be cause for regret later.

Third, it prevents disturbing the civil authorities, and avoids litigation. And fourth, it prevents a leaking [of the community's internal problems] to the outside, while guarding the morality of the [Ch'an] school.

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When [monks] gather from the four [quarters] and dwell together, who can discriminate between the saintly ones and the worldly? Even when the Tathāgata was in the world, there was the "gang of six" (*liu-ch'ün chih tang*) [bad monks who were guilty of various transgressions against monkish etiquette]. How, then, could we possibly achieve the complete absence [of bad ones] in the present age of the counterfeit (*hsiang*) and decadent (*mo*) [Dharma]? If there is but one monk with transgressions, [people are] quick to generalize, and ridicule [the entire Sangha]. Although they do not really know [how most monks behave], the injury is great when they form a low opinion of the assembly and slander the Dharma. In the Ch'an school (*ch'an-men*) today, if we are to have little or no interference [from the secular authorities], we should follow Pai-chang's guidelines for monasteries in weighing matters and making distinctions. Of course,

rules are made to restrain the licentious, not for the sake of the virtuous. But it is better to have regulations and no offenses than to have offenses and no [moral] teachings. Consider how great the benefits were of Ch'an Master Pai-chang's protection of the Dharma!

(16) The Ch'an school's (*ch'an-men*) independent practice followed from Pai-chang's initiation. At present [I] have briefly summarized the essential points [of that practice] and proclaimed them for all future generations of practitioners, so that they will not be forgetful of our ancestor [Pai-chang]. His rules [should be] implemented in our monastery [*shan-men*].

The Composition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*

In this section I shall analyze the internal structure and contents of the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (translated in the left-hand column above), and discuss what these reveal about the authorship of the text and the standpoint from which it was written.

To begin with, it should be noted that the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition had at least two authors, since the interlinear comments were clearly subsequent additions that could not have been written by the author(s) of the main body of the text. This is most obvious in the case of the first comment, which explains the meaning of the term "*A-chi-mo ching*" as a reference to the "Hīnayāna teachings." Had the author of the main body of the text thought the transliteration "*A-chi-mo*" to be obscure, he could have simply used the more familiar "*A-han*," without adding a note to his own composition. Moreover, the commentator was mistaken in his belief that "*A-chi-mo*" was a new usage. It may have come recently into fashion with the Sanskrit studies that were popular among Ch'an monk scholars in the Sung,[30] but the term had been used long before to transliterate the Sanskrit word "*Āgamas*" in Chinese Vinaya texts,[31] and in fact was used in the *Yü-chia-shih ti lun*,[32] the "Mahāyāna Vinaya" text mentioned in the very next line of the

"Ch'uan-teng lu" edition. We may suppose that the author of the first comment was not as familiar with the *Yü-chia-shih ti lun* and the Hīnayāna Vinaya tradition as the author of the main body of the text.

The second interlinear comment, which follows section 12 in my translation, is an elaboration on, rather than a clarification of, the information contained in the main text. Again, however, it is most unlikely that the author of the text proper would have added such a comment to his own composition. The fact that the information contained in the comment is more specific and detailed than the text itself also suggests that it is a later addition by a different hand. As is discussed in the following section of this chapter, there is good reason to suppose that the commentator simply read what he knew about the organization of Sung Ch'an monastic bureaucracies into the text of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*.

Both Tsung-tse, the editor of the "Ch'an-yüan" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, and Te-hui, the editor of the "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition, seem to have regarded the first two interlinear comments as later additions which did not belong to the text proper. These two comments, at any rate, are separated from the main body of the text in the "Ch'an-yüan" edition, and are not found at all in the "Ch'ih-hsiu" edition.

The three long comments found in section 15 of my translation, on the other hand, were merged indistinguishably into the texts of the "Ch'an-yüan" and "Ch'ih-hsiu" editions. We have no way of knowing for certain, but is likely that these latter three comments were added to the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition by a different person than the author of the first two comments. They clearly form a unit, at least, and comprise a very different sort of commentary. Rather than explaining or elaborating on the factual information presented in the text, they represent an expression of the commentator's own views on the issue raised in sections 14 and 15: the necessity of strictly enforcing monastic regulations and banishing wayward monks from the Buddhist order. This commentator, unlike the author of the

first comment, was evidently well versed in the Vinaya tradition, for he knew the rather obscure Vinaya rule concerning "pure punishment" (*fan-t'an*),[33] and made reference in a familiar way to the "gang of six" (*liu-ch'ün chih tang*) bad monks who play the role of negative exemplars in Vinaya literature. His approval of the punishment described in section 14 of the text is in full accord with the sentiments of the author, who himself in section 15 lists "four benefits" of the punishment, but again it is unlikely that the author and the commentator were the same person. For one thing, the style of presentation is quite different. The author himself, as is discussed shortly, commented approvingly on several of the regulations he described, but he was for the most part quite reserved, and careful not to let his own opinion overshadow the rules he attributed to the ancestor Pai-chang. The commentator, by contrast, was a forceful rhetorician, not at all averse to expressing his own opinion. Moreover, the wording of the commentary borrows a phrase from the text in one place ("Only when... will respectfulness and faithfulness be produced"), echoing it in a way that the author himself would have been unlikely to do.

Whoever wrote the final three interlinear comments that appear in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, we may be sure that he was a student of the Vinaya, and a strict disciplinarian. He was also a monk who considered himself a follower of the Ch'an school (*ch'an-men*), and one who wished to see the school regulate itself from within so as to avoid trouble with the civil authorities. It is clear, however, that he was no narrowly sectarian partisan of the Ch'an school, but rather a defender of the entire order of Buddhist monks and nuns, that is, the "Sangha of the four quarters" (*ssu-fang seng-chia*), which he alluded to in the opening line of the final long comment. The primary significance of Pai-chang's rules to this commentator, at least, was not that they facilitated the establishment of Ch'an monastic institutions independently from the Vinaya tradition, but rather that they were stricter than the Vinaya when it came to maintaining the purity of the monkish community, and

were therefore more effective as a means of protecting the *Buddhist*, not merely "Ch'an," Dharma and Sangha. Indeed, there is no indication that this commentator regarded Ch'an monks as anything other than members of the same Buddhist Sangha that came into existence "when the Tathāgata was in the world."

As we have seen, there is no way of knowing for certain whether or not the interlinear comments found in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition appeared in the earlier recension(s) of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* used by Ts'an-ning and Tao-ch'eng, but it is likely that they did not appear, since neither the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope nor the "Yao-lan" citation show any awareness of them. Judging from the rather conservative attitude and the tendency to identify the Ch'an school with the Buddhist Sangha at large displayed by the author of the last three comments, I would hazard a guess that he was writing sometime after the turn of the eleventh century, by which time the Ch'an school had become firmly entrenched as the dominant, orthodox tradition in Chinese Buddhism.

Having discussed the interlinear comments, let us turn our attention now to the main body of the text. Despite the heading "Regulations of the Ch'an Approach" ("Ch'an-men kuei-shih") borne by the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition, it is apparent that the text is not a set of monastic regulations in its own right. It is, basically, a description of a number of monastic procedures implicitly attributed to Pai-chang, set in a quasi-historical context, and presented together with the author's own explanatory and laudatory remarks. Setting aside the interlinear comments, the text may be analyzed into three parts. The first part, consisting of sections 1 and 2 in my translation, is in the nature of an introduction. The second and main part, comprised of sections 3 through 15 in the translation, consists of the description of a number of procedures and principles regulating monastic life and training. The third part, consisting of section 16 in the translation, is the author's postscript. Let us consider each of these parts in more detail.

In the first or introductory part of the text the author

begins with a straightforward historical statement: Ch'an lineage monks in the days of the first six ancestors did not have their own independent monastic regulations, but resided in "Vinaya monasteries" (*lü-ssu*), where they sometimes had their own separate cloisters (*pieh-yüan*). The author then states that Pai-chang was dissatisfied with this arrangement, and concludes (in the final sentence of the introduction) that he consequently "conceived the idea" of establishing an independent Ch'an monastery. Pai-chang's reason for being dissatisfied with the old arrangement, and his views on what to make of the earlier Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinaya regulations, are presented in the form of a dialogue between him and an unidentified interlocutor. In order to propagate the "Way of the [Ch'an] Patriarchs" and save it from destruction in the future, Pai-chang is quoted as saying, a distinct set of Ch'an lineage regulations should be formulated, drawing freely on whatever existing Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinaya rules might be useful and discarding the rest.

The impression created in sections 1 and 2 is that Pai-chang did in fact formulate the first Ch'an monastic regulations and establish the first independent Ch'an monastery. It is noteworthy, however, that the author very carefully stops short of actually making those claims, and only tells us what Pai-chang's ideas and inclinations were, not his actions. In weighing the value of the text as historical evidence, Martin Collcutt has stated that "the attribution of the first Ch'an rule to Pai-chang by the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, which was compiled a little less than two centuries after his death, was very confident."[34] I would submit that the opposite was true: that the author lacked the evidence that would have allowed him to make a confident historical claim, but that he nevertheless was eager to present Pai-chang as the *spiritual* founding father -- the first to "conceive the idea" -- of the Ch'an monastic rule. Needless to say, an account of the "founding" of an institution which fails to present any material evidence, yet claims to be privy to what was going on inside the protago-

nist's mind, is best regarded as myth. The fact that some of Pai-chang's ideas are presented in the quasi-historical form of a quoted dialogue does nothing to change this estimation. Indeed, the dialogue is reminiscent of the Ch'an school's "recorded sayings" literature, which should be regarded primarily as doctrinal treatises.[35] In his tentative manner of presenting the facts, the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* himself displayed an awareness that he was dealing with spiritual (we would say "mythical"), rather than historical, truth. On the spiritual level, to be sure, his attribution of the first Ch'an rule to Pai-chang was very confident. Indeed, it was not only confident, it was marked by an attitude of religious devotion to an ancestral figure.

This devotion is clearly expressed in section 16, the author's postscript, where he states that his reason for composing the text was so that future generations of Ch'an monks would not neglect to honor Pai-chang, the founding father. As we now know, future generations were in fact most assiduous in their remembrance of Pai-chang. By the thirteenth century, at least, an image of Pai-chang was enshrined alongside that of Bodhidharma in the Patriarchs' hall (*tsu-shih-t'ang*) of major monasteries, and was the focal point of a cult involving daily, monthly and annual offerings and prayers. There is no way of knowing whether the worship of Pai-chang in the Ch'an school had already begun at the time when the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was composed, or whether the text itself was the first to propose honoring Pai-chang as the ancestral founder of Ch'an monasticism. Whatever the origins of the cult of Pai-chang were, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is the oldest source we have that hints at such a cult. It has also been the single most important factor in the promotion and preservation of that cult in the Ch'an and Zen schools down to the present day. In short, the text proved to be successful in its stated mission beyond anything the author could have hoped for.

The author's postscript states, a little more boldly than the introduction, that "the Ch'an school's independent practice

followed from Pai-chang's initiation." This parting observation strengthens the impression that Pai-chang actually formulated a set of rules and established a separate Ch'an monastery, but it remains a carefully hedged assertion, since what Pai-ch'ang "initiated" could have been nothing more than the *concept* of an distinct system of Ch'an practice. What is more significant about the statement, perhaps, is that it took for granted that the Ch'an school's practice was in fact independent. Since Ts'an-ning and Tao-ch'eng, neither of whom was a Ch'an partisan, also seem to have accepted this as a matter of fact, we may conclude that the idea of some sort of Ch'an school break with the Vinaya tradition was a common understanding in the world of Chinese Buddhism toward the end of the tenth century. In any case, the task that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* set himself was not to declare the independence of the Ch'an school, but rather to explain the origins of that independence and legitimize it by tracing it back to an ancestral figure.

One final observation that may be made concerning the postscript is that it suggests that the author himself was a figure of authority, perhaps the abbot, in a monastery dominated by the Ch'an school, and that he was addressing the *Ch'an-en kuei-shih* primarily to his followers in that community. This may be deduced from his use of the term *shan-men*, which literally means "mountain gate." Buddhist monasteries were often referred to as "mountains" in the Chinese tradition; by the Sung, at least, this usage was common. The "mountain gate" was the main gate of a monastery, and as such it came to symbolize the monastery as a whole, particularly when referred to from the perspective of the occupants. In the context in which it appears in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, the term *shan-men* clearly means "within the mountain gate," which is to say, "in this monastery," or "in our monastery," as I have translated it. Only the abbot, or some other senior teacher in a monastic community, would be in a position to make a statement such as, "Pai-chang's rules should be implemented in our monastery."

The statement itself, of course, raises the possibility that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* actually presented the procedures and organizational principles described in sections 3 through 15 as regulations to be followed in his own monastery. As we have seen, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* and most subsequent Sung and Yüan monastic codes that have come down to us ascribed the specific rules they promulgated, in inspiration at least, to Pai-chang. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* had been the first to take this approach, composing his own rules and then attributing them to Pai-chang to give them authority. I doubt, however, that this was the case, because the procedures and principles described in sections 3 through 15 simply do not read as regulations. They are, for one thing, broadly descriptive of an overall pattern of monastery organization and training, and much less specific than most rules found either in the earlier Vinaya literature or in the later Ch'an monastic codes. It is difficult to imagine that a reform minded abbot in an existing monastic community would present such a vague set of organizational principles if he were concerned with revamping the operation of his monastery in concrete ways. Moreover, unlike most monastic rules, the material contained in sections 3 through 15 is couched in a grammatical mood that is expository rather than imperative. It seems likely, therefore, that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, if indeed he was the abbot of a monastery who composed or edited the text to admonish his followers, was more concerned that they heed the spirit than the letter of "Pai-chang's rules."

That spirit was something the author took pains to elucidate in his "summary of the essential points" of the system of Ch'an monastic practice attributed to Pai-chang. Sections 3 through 15, the central part of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, can be analyzed into two types of statements: factual claims concerning particular features of Pai-chang's regulations, and reflective comments explaining and evaluating those features.[36] The comments were the author's vehicle for presenting various

ideals that he suggested were embodied in Pai-chang's system of monastic training. For example, in section 4 the factual statement that a Buddha hall was not built is followed with an explanation of why the facility was unnecesary: because the abbot, who held forth in the Dharma hall, was regarded as representing the Buddha. In section 7, the description of the procedure for sleeping is followed with a laudatory comment, to the effect that Ch'an monks in Pai-chang's day maintained the proper monkish deportment at all times. In section 9, the description of the morning and evening assemblies in the Dharma hall is followed with an explanation of its purpose: "to show how to dwell in accordance with the Dharma." In section 10, the facts that meals were limited to two times a day and that food was distributed equally is followed by the approving remark, "temperance was thus maintained." In section 13, the description of the expulsion of improperly ordained or rowdy monks from a monastery is followed by the laudatory comment, "tranquility in the pure assembly was highly valued." Thus we see that decorum, temperance, tranquility in the community and respect for the abbot and Dharma were values that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* esteemed, and wished to present as the informing spirit of "Pai-chang's rules."

Section 15 is an extended comment which makes four separate points on the wisdom of the method of punishment (expulsion from the Buddhist order) outlined in section 14. Here we learn that, in addition to the values enumerated above, the author was highly concerned about the deleterious effect on a monastic community, and on the Buddhist Sangha as a whole, of monks who were "serious offenders," by which we may suppose he meant those who broke the cardinal Buddhist precepts. Of particular note is the author's concern with guarding the reputation of the Sangha and not provoking the civil authorities; this is expressed in the second, third and fourth "benefits" he enumerates. The impression we get here is that Buddhist, including Ch'an, institutions at the time when the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was written were in a rather weak position relative to the sur-

rounding society, being vulnerable, perhaps, to sanctions from the government and the potential loss of support from the lay community. Evidently the "independent practice" of the Ch'an school referred to in the text was not understood by the author as a matter of political or economic independence, but rather as a position taken in relation to the earlier Buddhist, especially Vinaya, tradition. In any case, it is clear that the author, like the later commentator who elaborated on the same theme in the final three interlinear notes, regarded the strict punishment of rule breaking monks as one of the most important principles embodied in "Pai-chang's rules."

It is conceivable that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* based his factual description of the system of monastic training he attributed to Pai-chang on some earlier textual source that he had in hand, or that he recorded an account that had been handed down in an oral tradition. It is also possible that he took the actual arrangment of Chan monasteries in his day as a starting point, abstracted what he believed to be its most distinctive and praiseworthy features, and so produced a description of the "original," ideal form of Ch'an monasticism worthy of attribution to the founding patriarch Pai-chang. The latter hypothesis is highly plausible, for the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in fact reads very much like a brief, idealized account of the Sung Ch'an monastic institutions described in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* and subsequent codes. The author's own statement in section 16 that he has "briefly summarized the essential points" of the system of independent Ch'an monastic practice "initiated" by Pai-chang leaves all of these possibilities open. The question of the author's source for the factual information presented in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* cannot be resolved on the basis of internal evidence alone, and may in the end defy resolution by any means. The only viable approach to this problem is to compare the specific claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* with whatever we may learn about the institutional disposition of the Ch'an school in the T'ang from independent sources. If precedents for the type of monastery ar-

rangement described in *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* can be found in earlier sources, then we may reasonably suppose that the author of the text himself had some earlier materials to work from. If no such precedents can be found, then we may suppose that the author was merely projecting back into the T'ang, in idealized form, what he knew of Sung Ch'an institutions.

Whatever his source was for the factual information on Pai-chang's system of monastic training, the author's concern with promoting strict monastic discipline -- the chief concern expressed in his comments -- was undoubtedly something that arose in response to conditions current in his own, not Pai-chang's, day. Of course, we do not know for certain who the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was, when he lived, or when he composed the text, except that it was sometime before 988 (the date of the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope). I have theorized that he was the abbot of a monastery dominated by the Ch'an school; that he wrote the text to admonish the residents of that monastery; that his primary aim in producing such a document was not to lay down specific rules, but to promote a spirit of strict discipline which he claimed was Pai-chang's sacred legacy; and that he was also concerned with legitimizing the existing Ch'an system of monastic training, and with defending the position of the entire Buddhist Sangha in Chinese society. The nature of these concerns suggests that the author was writing at the time when the Ch'an movement was emerging as the dominant school of Buddhism in China, but was as yet neither fully confident of its position, nor completely settled in its conception of its own origins and identity. That time was the early Sung dynasty.

Various branches of the Ch'an movement had survived the severe repression of Buddhism of the Hui-ch'ang era (841-846) and flourished regionally during the late T'ang and Five Dynasties, when China was fragmented into a number of local regimes. With the movement toward political unification of the country that took place around the beginning of the Sung dynasty, efforts also began among Ch'annists to unify their diverse teaching lines in a systematic fashion, and to gain recognition for the

Ch'an lineage on the national level as the legitimate heir to the orthodox Buddhist Dharma. The first of these two tasks was undertaken by finding a common spiritual ancestor -- the Sixth Patriach Hui-neng served this purpose -- and forging links of Dharma transmission back to him. Thus major efforts began in the Sung to collect the hagiographical lore of noteworthy T'ang and Five Dynasties period Ch'an masters, and to compile extensive "lamp histories," such as the *Tsu-t'ang chi* and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*, in which all of the ancient masters were placed on one or another branch of a single Ch'an family tree. The second task was approached in the traditional manner common to Chinese Buddhists of all doctrinal persuasions: by soliciting the support of the imperial court and other powerful patrons. Thus, in the Sung we begin to find the founding of "Ch'an [school] monasteries" by imperial decree, and imperial sponsorship of Ch'an school publications, such as the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was probably a product of this age, when the Ch'an school was looking to the past to define its origins and identity, and concerned with ensuring its place in the new Chinese social order.

The preceding argument, of course, does not establish the date of composition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* with any certainty. It merely suggests that the text was written sometime in the two or three decades before 988 (the terminus ad quem of its composition), rather than earlier. In further support of this judgement, I offer the following consideration: if the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account of Pai-chang's role as the founder of an independent system of Ch'an monasticism had been in circulation much earlier than the Sung, it probably would have found its way into the biographies of Pai-chang that were included in the *Tsu-t'ang chi* (compiled 952) and the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (1004), or into Pai-chang's "recorded sayings." Because the account does not appear in any of those sources, it seems not to have belonged to the main body of Pai-chang lore handed down from before the middle of the tenth century.

One final observation that may be made about the author of

the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is that he probably considered himself to belong to a Dharma lineage descended from Pai-chang. It is difficult to imagine him extolling Pai-chang as the founding patriarch of the Ch'an monastic rule if that were not the case. We may assume, therefore, that he identified himself with one of the two main lines of Dharma transmission that, by the early Sung, were regarded as orthodox lineages stemming from Pai-chang: either the Wei-yang school deriving from Wei-shan Ling-yu (771-853) and Yang-shan Hui-chi (807-883), or the Lin-chi school deriving from Lin-chi I-hsüan (d. 866).

The Wei-yang school flourished with imperial support in Hunan and Kiangsi immediately following the Hui-ch'ang suppression. It was the dominant school of Buddhism in its locale from the final decades of the T'ang into the Five Dynasties period, but its influence was limited geographically. By the time China began to be reunified in the early Sung, the Wei-yang school had been overshadowed by other branches of Ch'an, notably the Yün-men and Fa-yen schools, which were named after their "founders" Yün-men Wen-yen (d. 949) and Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958). Fa-yen school monks, in particular, figured prominently in the effort to systematize and unify the various strands of Ch'an teachings in the early Sung. Like the Wei-yang school, the Lin-chi school arose initially as a local phenomenon, far to the north in Hopei, where it was patronaged by military governors of Mongol extraction who were virtually independent of the central T'ang government. From these beginnings as an isolated Ch'an movement on the fringes of Chinese society, however, it gained the support of officials in the Sung court and supplanted the Fa-yen school in the eleventh century as the leading branch of the Ch'an school in the land. Illustrative of this shift is the fact that Tao-yüan, the compiler of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* who is said to have presented his work to the emperor in 1004, was a follower of the Fa-yen school, whereas Yang-i (968-1024), the editor of the text who prepared it for publication with imperial sponsorship, was a Lin-chi school monk.

I am inclined to think that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was also a Lin-chi school monk, for several reasons. In the first place, the fortunes of the Lin-chi school were on the rise in the early Sung, whereas those of Wei-yang school had largely passed into history, so it is more likely that a prominent Ch'an monk active at that time would have been associated with the former than the latter. Secondly, the figure of Pai-chang was of vital importance to the Lin-chi school, because he provided the sole link to Ma-tsu, and through him to Hui-neng, who was the fountainhead of orthodoxy in Sung Ch'an. Because the Lin-chi school had its roots far from Hunan and Kiangsi, the home of the "Hung-chou" school of Ma-tsu, it was at pains in the early Sung to emphasize the connections between Lin-chi, his teacher Huang-po Hsi-yün, and Huang-po's teachers Pai-chang and Ma-tsu. In terms of factional politics, it is clear that the claim made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* that Pai-chang was the founding father of Ch'an monasticism would have served the interests of the Lin-chi school, rather than those of the Fa-yen, Yün-men or Ts'ao-tung schools, which traced their lineages back to Hui-neng by a route (through Ch'ing-yüan) that bypassed Pai-chang and Ma-tsu entirely. In this connection, we may speculate that it was the Lin-chi editor Yang-i, rather than the Fa-yen compiler Tao-yüan, who appended the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* to the biography of Pai-chang in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. There is no way of proving this, but it is clear that the biography and the text of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* are completely separate entities, and that the latter was added as a kind of afterthought to the original compilation of information on Pai-chang. This sort of addition, it may also be noted, was not so common in the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. One final clue that the author of the *Ch'an-men ch'ing-kuei* may have been a follower of the Lin-chi school is his use, in section 9, of the technical phrase "guest and host" (*pin-chu*) to describe the exchange between an abbot and his interlocutor in the Dharma hall. This phrase was probably derived from the vernacular Chinese of the day, and was common to all Ch'annists,

but it was associated especially closely with the Lin-chi school, which employed it in the dialectic formula, "four [relations between] guest and host" (*ssu pin-chu*).

<u>The Claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*</u>

The single most important historical claim made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* is that Pai-chang was the author of the system of monastic training outlined in sections 3 through 15 of the text (as I have divided it). I have argued that this claim was probably not based on any concrete historical evidence that the author had in hand, and that its primary aim was to establish Pai-chang as the spiritual ancestor of Ch'an monasticism. Whether or not we accept the attribution to Pai-chang, however, the possibility remains that some or all of the specific features of monastic organization described in the text represent an accurate account of Ch'an school monasticism in the ninth or early tenth centuries. In this section I shall examine each of the main points raised in the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* for the purpose of establishing precisely what the text claims with regard to the organization of early Ch'an school monastic practice. I will not attempt to verify or disprove those claims in a thoroughgoing manner, but I will make note of controverting or otherwise pertinent evidence that is found in various T'ang sources. I shall also critique the modern scholarly interpretations of certain points in the text.

Let us begin with the statement in section 1 of text that members of the Ch'an lineage from the time of Bodhidharma up until the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng resided in "Vinaya monasteries." The problem in interpreting this claim is what to make of the term "Vinaya monasteries" (*lü-ssu*, or *lü-yüan* in some versions of the Pai-chang story). A number of scholars have taken *lü-ssu* (*lü-yüan*) in this context to mean "Vinaya sect monasteries."[37] But the term can also be understood in the sense of "monasteries regulated by the Vinaya." Which meaning did the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* intend? As we saw in Chapter

Three, it was common later in the Sung for large public monasteries to be officially designated as "Ch'an [school]," "Vinaya [school]," or "Teachings" (i.e T'ien-t'ai school) institutions. It is conceivable, therefore, that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* had this sort of distinction in mind when he wrote of "Vinaya monasteries" in the T'ang. If such was his intended meaning, however, the implication would be that he believed a Vinaya school (*lü-tsung*) existed even prior to Tao-hsüan (who was regarded in the Sung as the "founder" of that school) and that it had developed independent monasteries centuries before the Ch'an school. It is highly unlikely that a partisan of the Ch'an school in the late tenth century would have suggested anything of the sort. Furthermore, in the "Seng shih-lüeh pericope" (completed in 991), Ts'an-ning elaborated on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account by explaining that although early Ch'an lineage figures such as Tao-hsin and Hui-neng resided in separate cloisters "they did not have different rules."[38] Prior to Pai-chang, he wrote, "they all followed the Vinaya procedures." Ts'an-ning, himself a Vinaya master, thus understood the term *lü-ssu* as it was used in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* as a reference to monasteries regulated by the Vinaya, not "Vinaya sect" monasteries. Ts'an-ning was a contemporary of the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, and his understanding of the term *lü-ssu* is a good indication of what it meant at the time. The intended meaning of section 1 of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, I would conclude, is that prior to Pai-chang followers of the Ch'an school lived in separate cloisters in mainstream Buddhist monasteries, which were generally organized along lines established in the Vinaya literature. This claim still needs to be verified on the basis of independent evidence, but I find it quite plausible as a hypothesis.

Ui Hakuju, we have seen, rejected the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* account on the grounds that the fourth and fifth ancestors, Tao-hsin and Hung-jen, had already established independent Ch'an monasteries. Shiina Kōyū also rejects the account, but for a slightly different reason. We know so little about the

concrete arrangement of the East mountain communities, he argues, that it would be rash to call them "Vinaya cloisters" (*lü-yüan*).[39] Shiina believes that the tendency for Ch'an school monks to reside in famous monasteries that were regulated by the Vinaya first appeared with the followers of Hung-jen, especially those who belonged to the so-called Northern school. Southern school monks, he thinks, tended to shy away from the great monastic centers (and thus to preserve the "independence" supposedly evinced by Bodhidharma and his followers).

Shiina's treatment of this issue is colored somewhat by his allegiance to the Southern school (modern day Sōtō branch), but he nevertheless demonstrates an ability to analyze evidence pertaining to T'ang monastic institutions without allowing the assumptions of the Sung historiographers to distort the picture. Many Japanese scholars have projected the awareness of denominational divisions that one finds in the later Sung literature back into the T'ang, interpreting the claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* in terms of the Sung distinction between "Ch'an school" and "Vinaya school" monasteries. Shiina, however, points out that the so-called "Vinaya monasteries" in which many Northern school and some Southern school monks resided did not always have ordination platforms, and were not necesarily dedicated exclusively to the study and practice of the Vinaya. Rather, they were eclectic institutions which also served as places for lectures on sūtras, the translation of scriptures, and the practice of dhyāna. This, he says, was "the usual tendency in large monasteries in the T'ang."[40] Shiina agrees with Ts'an-ning's assertion that the Ch'an monks who lived in such monasteries had separate cloisters, and that in general they followed the Vinaya rules.

Shiina's findings are consistent with what Ennin's diary tells us about the organization of Buddhist monasteries in the T'ang. Ennin reported visiting a number of monastic centers in which followers of the T'ien-t'ai school congregated in separate cloisters that were located on a larger campus. The impression one gets is that other schools of Chinese Buddhism, in

particular the Ch'an and Esoteric schools, had similar arrangements. Monks of various doctrinal persuasions seem to have resided together in a single large monastery, holding certain rules in common, sharing the central facilities, and choosing a single set of monastic officers, while maintaining separate cloisters for their own special forms of practice.

Next, let us consider the claim, made in section 2 of the text, that Pai-chang recommended establishing a new set of rules for monastic practice by drawing on both the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinaya literature. There are two points that I would like to make in this connection. The first is that mainstream Buddhist monasticism in China was already based on a combination of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Vinaya rules long before Pai-chang came on the scene. As was explained in Chapter Six, the Hīnayāna Vinaya, or rather the Hīnayāna Vinaya as interpreted by the Chinese schools of Vinaya exegesis, was generally relied on for rules pertaining to the organization and operation of monasteries. It was also used to regulate the Sangha as a whole (e.g. on matters of ordination and seniority), and was accepted as authoritative with regard to various details of deportment (*wei-i*) and etiquette applicable to individual monks and nuns. The Mahāyāna Vinaya, which was concerned mainly with the formulation of "Bodhisattva precepts," effectively supplanted the Hīnayāna *Prātimokṣa* as a standard for individual morality (although the formal use of the latter in the ordination ritual was retained). Thus, however innovative the particular rules attributed to Pai-chang in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* may be, the basic attitude toward the Vinaya tradition that Pai-chang is made to display in the text was nothing new. This is the first of several instances in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* where Pai-chang is credited with originating a feature of monastic organization that was, in point of fact, already common in Chinese Buddhism.

The second point to make in this connection is that the principles of monastery organization described in the main body of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* (sections 3 through 15) are in fact

based in many cases on the Hīnayāna Vinaya. I will not list all the instances of Vinaya influence here, but will mention them below when we come to the pertinent sections of the text. It is noteworthy, by way of contrast, that none of the rules attributed to Pai-chang in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* have their origins in any Mahāyāna Vinaya text that we know of today.

Two factual claims are made in section 3 of the text. The first is that in Pai-chang's system an accomplished, respected monk was chosen as abbot or "elder" (*chang-lao*). The second is that the abbot's quarters was called a "ten foot square [hut]" (*fang-chang*), and that it was used by the abbot in his capacity as chief instructor (*hua-chu*). Concerning these facts, the author comments approvingly that the selection of the abbot was based on Indian Buddhist practice, and that the abbot's quarters was not a private residence, but a room like Vimalakīrti's hut (*fang-chang*), where all beings could enter to hear the Dharma preached.

The expression *chang-lao*, as the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* suggests, derives from the Chinese Vinaya literature. It was originally used to translate the Sanskrit *sthavira* (Pāli *thera*) or "elder," a term which referred in a general way to senior monks.[41] In the T'ang, *chang-lao* was synonomous in Buddhist usage with such terms as "top seat" (*shang-tso*), "head seat" (*shou-tso*), and "first seat" (*ti-i-tso*), all of which indicated a monk with seniority, or an officer who was in charge of other monks in an assembly or particular facility (e.g. a meditation hall). However, the use of the term *chang-lao* to refer to the office of abbot -- the spiritual leader of an entire monastic community -- seems to occur first in the Sung Ch'an lamp histories and monastic codes. A more systematic study of both "Ch'an" and "non-Ch'an" materials dating from the T'ang is necessary, but we may accept as a viable hypothesis the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*'s suggestion that the practice of selecting a single abbot (*chang-lao*) as the spiritual head and teacher of an entire monastery was a Ch'an school innovation.

The use of the term *fang-chang* in the sense of an "abbot's

quarters" where disciples may come for individual or group instruction also occurs first in the Ch'an literature that survives in Sung editions. It is clear from the Ch'an monastic codes and other sources that in the Sung the abbot's quarters of major monasteries included both public meeting places and private rooms for the abbot's personal use. The author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* gave an idealized description of the abbot's quarters in Pai-chang's system, perhaps as a way of criticizing what he saw as abuses of abbots' privileges in his own day. Nevertheless, his basic factual claim, which is that the institution of the *fang-chang* was a Ch'an school invention, is also a viable hypothesis.

Next, let us consider the claim made in section 4 that Pai-chang's system of training did not make use of a Buddha hall, but only a Dharma hall. In order to understand why these two facilities are mentioned together in the text, it is necessary to know that in Sung Ch'an monasteries a hall for the worship of Buddha(s) and a hall for the preaching of Dharma were the two main structures where religious services involving an entire monastic community were held. Almost every monastery facility, including the kitchen, sutra library, bath, etc., had its own altar where the patron deity of the activity or group centered there was enshrined. For example, the deity in the Sangha hall (*seng-t'eng*), where ordained monks ate, slept and sat in meditation, was Mañjuśrī (the Bodhisattva of wisdom), represented in the form of a monk. The Buddha hall, however, was the place where an image of the particular Buddha identified as the "honored one" (*tsun*) or "chief honored one" (*pen-tsun*) of the monastery as a whole was enshrined and worshipped daily by the entire community. Similarly, the Dharma hall was the place where the preceptor of the entire community, the abbot, could address the monks, nuns, novices, postulants, and lay followers together. Architecturally, the Buddha and Dharma halls in Sung monasteries were of similar design and layout. They were both massive structures that were open on the inside to allow for large assemblies, and both had large altar plat-

forms (*hsü-mi-t'an*) located in the center rear. The main difference was that the altar in a Buddha hall had an image of the "chief honored one" and various lesser dieties enshrined on it, while the altar in a Dharma hall was left open, to be mounted by the abbot when he gave a sermon or engaged in debate. The author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* suggests that since the abbot in Pai-chang's day represented the Buddhas and patriarchs in his very person, the Dharma hall in effect served as a Buddha hall, and it was therefore unnecessary to build a separate Buddha hall.

The purported rejection of the Buddha hall by the Ch'an school in the T'ang is something that modern historians attach great significance to. Martin Collcutt, for example, proposes that

> The deliberate rejection of the Buddha hall in the 'Ch'an-men kuei-shih' probably derived from four basic considerations: a strong strand of iconoclasm in Ch'an thought, a sense of Ch'an sectarian identity, a fear that energy would be drawn from meditation and Zen practice into elaborate ceremonial functions in the Buddha hall (involving a shift from the struggle to attain enlightenment by one's own efforts to reliance on prayers and devotions) and, finally, a fear that, through these ceremonies, dependence on the state and the patrons who sponsored Buddha hall ceremonies and memorial services would be unduly increased.[42]

This sort of analysis, which is also commonly found in Japanese scholarship on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, reads more into the text than is really there. Among the four considerations enumerated, only the second one, "a sense of Ch'an sectarian identity," finds explicit expression in the text. There is no mention of the problem of excessive dependence on the state or patrons. Iconoclasm is evidenced, perhaps, by the very fact that the Buddha hall is rejected, but the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* does not condemn worship before an image as such, or rule out the enshrinement of images in other monastery buildings. There is no explicit rejection of prayers, devotions, or worship of the Buddha in the text, nor does the reason given therein for not constructing a Buddha hall necessarily imply one. A Buddha

hall is superfluous because the current abbot himself fills the role of "honored one." The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* also stresses, however, that the abbot is merely the first among equals. He is to join in communal labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) with the other monks, presumably, and is not to make the abbot's quarters into a private retreat. The overall implication is that it is not the person of the abbot which is to be revered, but rather the enlightenment that he embodies or represents in his official capacity. In a sense, the abbot is presented as a flesh and blood "Buddha image" who replaces the bronze or wooden kind. Seen in this light, the rejection of the Buddha hall as reported in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* may be interpreted as a statement about the nature of "Buddha." By regarding the current abbot as the "honored one," Buddha is presented as something that exists within man, and something that can be awakened to or experienced by man in his own person. This understanding holds forth the possibility of becoming a Buddha through one's own efforts in meditation (a practice which is stressed in the text), but it does not preclude relating to the "honored one" in a devotional mode. The Ch'an tradition of seating the abbot on a high altar of the sort used for Buddha images when he is to preach the Dharma, and making worshipful prostrations before him prior to formally questioning him in a public debate or private encounter, attests to this.

Scholars such as Kagamishima,[43] Kondō,[44] and Collcutt describe Buddha halls as the places where prayer services for the ruler and patrons were held. They believe, as Collcutt puts it, that the gradually increasing acceptance of Buddha halls in Sung Ch'an, following the earlier tendency to reject them, "could only mean a loss of independence and dilution of meditation, as Ch'an monasteries, in return for patronage, became vehicles for the satisfaction of secular intentions."[45] However, a careful reading of the oldest extant Ch'an monastic code, the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, suggests that the Buddha hall in early Sung Ch'an monasteries was used mainly for devotional purposes, while other facilities, including the Sangha

hall and Dharma hall, were used for memorial services and ceremonies in which prayers for the emperor and patrons were held.[46] Dōgen, following the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei*, also gave directions for sūtra reading prayer services (*kankin*) for patrons to be held in the Sangha hall.[47] Buddha halls eventually evolved into all-purpose ceremonial facilities in Ch'an and Zen monasteries, but the connection between Buddha halls and patronage which appears in later Ch'an monastic codes did not necessarily exist at the time the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was composed.

All of the scholarly interpretations of the Ch'an rejection of the Buddha hall, of course, accept the historicity of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*'s claim. It is noteworthy, however, that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* itself is the *only* source we have that even hints at the principle of building a Dharma hall and not a Buddha hall. In the Sung lamp histories and "recorded sayings" literature, Buddha halls are routinely mentioned in connection with the monasteries where T'ang Ch'an masters resided. The Tun-huang lamp histories, too, place Ch'an monks in settings where there are Buddha halls. In this instance, therefore, the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*'s claim is dubious.

Sections 5 through 7 of the text focus on the arrangement of the Sangha hall (*seng-t'ang*) and the rules of training that Pai-chang is supposed to have established for the group of trainees (*hsüeh-chung*) who were based there. The account given here accords perfectly with what monastic codes and other contemporary sources tell us about Sangha hall training in Sung Ch'an monasteries. Collcutt has already provided English readers with an excellent description of the Sung style Sangha hall (monks' hall),[48] so I shall not repeat all the details here. My main concern is to assess the claim, implicit in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, that the Sangha hall and the type of training that took place there was the invention of the Ch'an school.

Focusing first on the physical arrangement of the Sangha hall, we may note that the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* mentions "long linked seats" (*ch'ang-lien-ch'uang*) or platforms

where the monks sat in meditation and slept, and a robe rack (*i-chia*) where they kept their robes and personal implements (bowls, razor, etc.). The fact that the Sangha hall training described in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* was a communal form of discipline, whereas Indian Buddhist monks often had their own cells where they meditated and slept, suggests to some scholars that the Ch'an school was instrumental in establishing a "Chinese style" of group dhyāna practice.[49] The term *ch'uang* in translated Vinaya texts often denotes an individual "seat" (made by stretching ropes across a frame) that was used for dhyāna practice, or an individual "bed" for sleeping. Since the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* attributes the construction of "long, linked" seats/beds (*ch'uang*) to Pai-chang, one might suppose that communal meditation and sleeping arrangements were in fact a Ch'an school innovation.

The term "Sangha hall" (*seng-t'ang*) appears first in the Ch'an historiography, and may well have been coined by Ch'an school monks. An examination of the Vinaya literature that survives in Pāli and Chinese, however, shows that most of the features of the Ch'an Sangha hall had a precedent in the arrangement of facilities for dhyāna practice (*ch'an-wu*, *ch'an-fang*, *ch'an-shih*) that were known in Indian and early Chinese Buddhism. Reference is found in the Vinaya, for example, to "long seats" as well as individual seats, and many of the specific rules pertaining to meditation posture make it clear that the practice of dhyāna was often a group activity.[50] The use of a robe rack (*i-chia*) in the monks' quarters is also prescribed by the Buddha in the Vinaya literature.[51]

The procedure for sleeping on the platforms in the Sangha hall that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* describes is very similar to the Vinaya rules for sleeping in a monks' quarters (*seng-fang*) or dhyāna hall (*ch'an-fang*). The *Shih-sung lü*, for example, stipulates that a monk should place his robe beneath his head as a pillow and lie on his side on the platform (*ch'uang*).[52] The same text goes on to describe the handling of a "dhyāna staff" (*ch'an-chang*) used to strike those sitting in meditation

when they got drowsy, so it is clear that the monks slept and practiced dhyāna on the same platforms. (The use of a staff for the purpose of stimulating meditators was common in Sung Ch'an Sangha halls). Other Vinaya texts such as the *Ssu-fen lü* and the *Mo-ho-seng-ch'i lü* also establish rules for sleeping on one's right side in a dhyāna hall.[53] Moreover, these Vinaya texts state clearly that sleep is to be kept to a minimum so that the hours of meditation may be extended. The author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* makes exactly the same comment in section 7, although he does not explain what the times for meditation were. In Sung Ch'an monasteries there was a rule prescribing "four periods of seated meditation" every day. This was probably based on the Vinaya, which established similar periods of daily meditation.[54]

The close connection between "Pai-chang's" rules for Sangha hall training and the rules for *dhyāna* hall training found in the Vinaya comes as a surprise only because we have been so accustomed to thinking of the early Ch'an school as a radical sect that rejected mainstream Buddhist institutions and created its own new ones. The *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* speaks of Pai-chang as the architect of Ch'an school independence, but it portrays him as a conservative who drew heavily on the Vinaya.

The author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* states that not only when sleeping, but at all four times (standing, walking, sitting, and lying down) monks in Pai-chang's Sangha hall maintained proper deportment (*wei-i*). Here again we find an unmistakable reference to the monkish etiquette prescribed in the Hīnayāna Vinaya and its associated commentaries.

The exception to the strict adherence to proper deportment, we are told in section 8, was when monks entered the abbot's room to request instruction (*ju-shih ch'ing-i*). The reference here is to the practice of going to the abbot's quarters for individual advice. In the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* and subsequent Ch'an monastic codes, "entering the room" (*ju-shih*) was a well established ritual which did have a prescribed etiquette.[55] Nevertheless, there was (and is) is a strong sense in the Ch'an

and Japanese Zen traditions that there should be equal access to the abbot for all who wish to consult with him, and that disciples should be free to communicate their spiritual concerns to the abbot in the most direct manner, ordinary social constraints notwithstanding. Perhaps this is what the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* meant when he referred to entering the room as an "exception" to the otherwise strict maintenance of proper deportment.

Here again the claim is implicitly made that a certain mode of religious practice -- in this case "entering the room" of the abbot -- was invented by the Ch'an school. On the literal level, at least, this claim is patently absurd. Similar master-disciple relationships were commonplace in Indian and early Chinese Buddhism. What may have been unique in the relationship as the Ch'an school conceived it was the sense that in coming into the abbot's presence one was confronting a living Buddha. If, as has often been observed, the Ch'an school placed relatively little value on the scriptural tradition and vested spiritual authority instead in the person of enlightened masters (or living symbols of enlightenment), then it is easy to see why it would have stressed "entering the room" of the abbot as a vital aspect of the ordinary monk's training.

The importance of interaction with the abbot is also stressed in section 9 of the text, which describes the procedure for great assemblies (*ta-chung*) in the Dharma hall. Here again the impression is given that a public exchange of "questions and answers" (*wen-t'a*) between an abbot and his interlocutors was somehow an invention of the Ch'an school. It may have been true, as the lamp histories and "recorded sayings" of the T'ang masters would indicate, that when a Ch'an master took the high seat in a Dharma hall the exchange that ensued was more likely to be a free-wheeling affair carried out in the earthy language of the common people. The holding of public debates on matters of Buddhist doctrine, however, was certainly not limited to members of the Ch'an school. More research needs to be done on this issue to determine the extent to which Ch'an

masters followed procedures for debating that were current in Buddhist monasteries at large. There are clear indications in the Ch'an histories that certain ritual procedures for bowing, signalling with a whisk, and so on were observed even in the "Ch'an" debates. It is not uncommon in those histories to find Ch'an masters debating with Vinaya masters or monks who specialized in lecturing on sutras. It is possible that all lived in the same monasteries (perhaps in separate cloisters) and matched wits in the setting of the central Dharma (lecture) halls.

The point of section 10 seems to be that the Vinaya rule forbidding meals after midday was observed in Pai-chang's monastery. Buddhist monks in the Sung frequently took an evening meal, rationalizing this breach of the Vinaya by calling it "medicine" (*yüeh-shih*). The *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* specifically forbids this practice and reaffirms the principle of "two meals a day, the forenoon meal (*chai*) and morning gruel (*chou*)."[56] A century or so earlier, we may suppose, the author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* had a similar concern. At any rate, he extolled Pai-chang's rules for meals as being "in accordance with what was proper," which clearly meant "proper" in light of the traditional Chinese understanding of the Vinaya.

This brings us to section 11, which consists of the statement that "the rule for the practice of communal labor (*p'u-ch'ing*) was for seniors and juniors to do equal work." I have already discussed the issue of communal labor in considerable detail in Chaper Seven, and have little to add here. Suffice it to observe that the evidence of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* lends no weight to the notion that Pai-chang's community practiced manual labor in order to be self-sufficient economically and to thereby avoid reliance on lay patrons.

Finally, let us consider the claim made in section 11 that Pai-chang's system of monasticism involved the establishment of ten administrative offices (*liao-she*). The commentator informs us here that the officers appointed were the rice steward, the vegetable steward, "and so on." Since the positions he mentions

were two common (albeit minor) ones in Sung Ch'an monasteries, it may be that he simply meant to say that Pai-chang's offices were more or less the same as the Sung monastic bureaucracy that people in his day were familiar with. The author of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* himself sheds little light on the matter, for apart from the positions of chief instructor (*hua-chu*) and abbot (which were filled by the same person), the only office he mentions by name is that of rector (*wei-na*). The rector in Sung monasteries was an important officer in charge of discipline and the registering (*hua-ta*) of monks in the Sangha hall, a role which he is also given in the *Ch'an-men keui-shih*.

It is a mistake, I think, to look solely to the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* for a prototype of the full-blown Sung Ch'an monastic bureaucracy. The text is simply too vague in the information it gives to be of much help in tracing the origins of the Sung institution. Far more useful in this respect are "non-Ch'an" T'ang sources such as Ennin's diary, which mentions the names of many monastery offices that are also found in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* and later Ch'an codes. A treatment of the issue is beyond the scope of the present dissertation, but the evidence of Ennin's diary and other T'ang sources convinces me that Sung Ch'an bureaucracies were organized along basically the same lines as mainstream Buddhist monasteries in the T'ang.

Whether or not future research bears my theory out, comparative study with "non-Ch'an" T'ang sources is essential if we are to understand the origins and development of "Ch'an" monastic institutions. The claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, both explicit and implicit, may be used to lend direction to that study, but they cannot be accepted as they stand.

Notes to Chapter VIII

[1] T 51 (no. 2067), pp. 250c–251b.

[2] I shall follow this usage and speak of particular "redactions of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*," using the title in a general way.

[3] Okimoto Katsumi takes the position that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* itself may be a monastic code written by Pai-chang ("Hyakujō kogi ni tsuite," in *Zen bunka kenkyūjo kiyō* 12 (March, 1980), p. 53. Martin Collcutt translates most of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* as though it were a set of rules, using the present tense and the imperative mood ("The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," pp. 173–179.

[4] See p. 299 above.

[5] See, for example, *Zengaku daijiten*, 1:91 (s.v. *Ekai*): "Only the preface of Pai-chang's work (the *Hyakujō ko shingi*) survives...."

[6] T 48 (no. 2025), pp. 1157c–1158b. The *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* also quotes the actual prefaces of three other monastic codes which do survive today: the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ng-kuei* (ibid, p. 1158b); the *Ts'ung-lin chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei* (ibid, pp. 1158b–c; and the *Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei* (ibid, pp. 1158c–1159a). This creates the false impression that the compilers of the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* actually had the "Pai-chang Code" in hand, as was in fact the case with the other three codes.

[7] This list of sources is partially based on Kimura Shizuo, "Ko shingi kō," in *Zengaku Kenkyū* 31 (July, 1939), p. 38; and on Okimoto, "Hyakujō kogi ni tsuite," p. 54.

[8] T 51 (no. 2076), pp. 250c–251b.

[9] ZZ 2-16-5, pp. 465d–469a; Sōtō Shū Zensho Kankōkai, ed., *Sōtō shū zensho: shingi* (Tokyo: Kōmeisha, 1931), pp. 923–929; Kagamishima Genryū, Kosaka Kiyū, and Satō Tatsugen, eds. and trans., *Yakuchū zennen shingi*, pp. 340–388.

[10] T 48 (no. 2025), pp. 1157c–1158b.

[11] T 50 (no. 2061), pp. 770c–771a.

[12] T 54 (no. 2127), p. 301b–c.

[13] T 49 (no. 2036), p. 619b.

14 T 54 (no. 2126), p. 240a-b.

15 T 49 (no. 2035), p. 381b.

16 Such claims may be found in the prefaces to the *Ts'ung-lin chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei* (ZZ 2-17-1, pp. 1) and the *Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei* (ZZ 2-17-1, p. 28), and in a postscript to the *Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei* (T [no. 2025], p. 1159a-b).

17 T 49 (no. 2035), p. 381b.

18 T 54 (no. 2127), p. 301b, lines 8-10.

19 Compare the side-by-side translations of these texts in the following section of this chapter.

20 See the translations of these texts in the following section of this chapter.

21 Ui Hakuju reasons that the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope could not have been based on the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* since it was composed before the first edition (1004) of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*; he further reasons that the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* could not have been based on the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope since it is considerably more detailed in its treatment of Pai-chang's rule than that earlier work; he concludes, therefore, that both works must have been based on a third, earlier source, which he believed was nothing other than the "Pai-chang Code" (*Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei*; *Hyakujō shingi*) supposed to have been written by Pai-chang himself (*Dai-ni zenshū shi kenkyū*, pp. 375-376). Ui's reasoning is flawed at every turn, however. In the first place some earlier recension of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* could easily have been in existence when Tsan-ning finished his *Sung kao-seng chuan* in 988, only sixteen years before the compilation of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*. In the second place, there is no reason why a later text such as the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition could not have incorporated and elaborated on an earlier text such as the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope; indeed, much of the Ch'an school's classical literature (especially the so-called "lamp history" genre) can be shown to have developed through a process of gradual accretion of quasi-historical details: the earliest hagiographies of a given figure (e.g. Bodhidharma) are frequently much sparser than later ones. Finally, even if we were to conclude (on the basis of sounder evidence than Ui offers) that both the "Kao-seng chuan" pericope and the "Ch'uan-teng lu" edition were based on a third source, there is no basis for jumping to the conclusion that the source was a monastic code written by Pai-chang.

22 This is especially true of the passages which read "we practice the Mahāyāna" and "we take the middle course between the Mahāyāna and Hīnayana," respectively (see my translations in the following section of this chapter.)

23 See my translations in the following section of this chapter; the passage in question is the one giving the reason for not building a Buddha hall.

[24] Compare T 50 (no. 2061), p. 770c, lines 23-25 with T 51 (no. 2076), p. 250c, lines 28-29. See my translations in the following section of this chapter, where the text reads "since Bodhidharma ... most stayed in Vinaya monasteries."

[25] See pp. 344-345 below.

[26] T 54 (no. 2126), p. 240a, lines 27 ff.

[27] T 51 (no. 2067), p. 250c-251b.

[28] In preparing the translation, I have consulted three other translations of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*: two English translations by Martin Collcutt, which are also based on the *Taishō* edition of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* ("The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," pp. 173-179; *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, pp. 138-141), and a Japanese translation by Kagamishima, Kosaka, and Satō based on the redaction of the text found in the *Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei* (*Yakuchū zennen shingi*, pp. 340-353).

[29] T 54 (no. 2127), p. 301b-c.

[30] Dōgen used the term in his *Shōbōgenzō*: "Busshō" (T 82 [no. 2582], p. 93b, line 3).

[31] See, for example, T 23 (no. 1442), p. 680, line 16.

[32] T 30 (no. 1579), p. 772c.

[33] The term *fan-t'an* is defined in T 22 (no. 1421), p. 192a, lines 8-15; it is also found in the *Fan-wang ching* (Kagamishima, et al, eds, *Yakuchū zennen shingi*, p. 351, note).

[34] Collcutt, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule," p. 172.

[35] The dialogue, incidentally, does not appear in Pai-chang's recorded sayings.

[36] Nien-chang, the author of "T'ung-tsai" pericope, also analyzed the text in a similar way (see p. 336 above).

[37] Martin Collcutt, for example, translates *lü-ssu* as "Lü sect monasteries" ("The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," p. 173.

[38] T 54 (no. 2126), p. 240a. Ts'an-ning's "Kao-seng chuan pericope" also makes it clear that *lü-ssu* or "Vinaya monastery" simply means a monastery governed by the "Vinaya regulations" (*lü-chih*) (T 50 [no.2061], p. 770c).

[39] Shiina, "Shotō zensha no ritsu'in jōjū ni tsuite," p. 325.

[40] Ibid, p. 326.

[41] See, for example, the explanation of the term in the *Shih-sung lü* (T 23 [no. 1435], p. 286b).

[42] Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, p. 140.

43 Kagamishima, "Namsō sōrin no ichi kōsatsu," pp. 57-59.

44 Kondō, "Hyakujō Shingi no seiritsu," p. 41.

45 Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, p. 194.

46 CYCK, pp. 36-37, 76, 206-207, 260, 297-301.

47 These directions appear in the chapter of Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō* entitled *Kankin* ("Sutra Chanting") (DZZS, vol. 1, pp. 273-275).

48 *Five Mountains*, pp. 206-215.

49 See, for example, Kosaka Kiyū, "Shingi hensen no tei-ryū," p. 124.

50 Hirakawa Akira, "Ritsuzō ni arawareta zen no jissen," p. 54.

51 T 24 (no. 1451), p. 263a.

52 T 23 (no. 1435), p. 417b; cited in Hirakawa, p. 61.

53 Hirakawa, p. 62.

54 For the Vinaya rules regulating hours of meditation, see Hirakawa, p. 61.

55 CYCK, pp. 66-68.

56 CYCK, p. 16.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation has been to call into question some of the fundamental assumptions that inform the modern "history of the Ch'an school" (*zenshū shi*), a small but thriving academic field that is centered in Japan. In particular, I have challenged the widely accepted belief that the Ch'an school in T'ang China was a sectarian entity that developed a unique set of institutional forms in opposition to and in isolation from the mainstream of Buddhist monasticism. That belief, I have argued, is not grounded in a critical, comparative study of all the available evidence pertaining to Buddhist monasticism in the T'ang. It derives, rather, from a conception of the early Ch'an school that was formulated in the Sung Ch'an historiography, and has been handed down in the Ch'an and Zen traditions.

The Sung conception of the Ch'an school was that of a multi-branched lineage of Dharma inheritance stemming from a first ancestor Bodhidharma. The basic idea of such a lineage was inherited from an earlier time. Sources dating from the T'ang, notably the Tun-huang lamp histories, show that in the late seventh and eighth centuries there were a number of factions in Chinese Buddhism that regarded themselves as champions of the Ch'an or dhyāna approach (*ch'an-men*) to enlightenment, and claimed to be the sole heirs to Bodhidharma's Dharma. The first such faction to actually call itself the "Ch'an lineage" (*ch'an-tsung*) was probably the Hung-chou school of Ma-tsu. The first historian to use the term "Ch'an lineage" to refer in a general way to a number of factions claiming descent from Bodhidharma seems to have been Tsung-mi, a conservative opponent of the Hung-chou school who believed that dhyāna practice should not be divorced from the Buddhist scriptural tradi-

tion. The Hung-chou school's claim to orthodoxy (i.e. exclusive Dharma inheritance) was accepted by the later Ch'an tradition, but at the same time (contradiction notwithstanding) the Sung historiographers adopted a broad conception of the Ch'an school similar to the one that had been held by Tsung-mi.

The Sung conception of the Ch'an school, I have suggested, helped to unify Chinese Buddhism at a time when it had an opportunity to regain something of its lost glory as an imperially sanctioned and supported religion. The basic claim made by Sung historiographers was that the Ch'an school correctly transmitted the true Buddha Dharma in its entirety. Although followers of the Ch'an school in the Sung had a strong sense of "sectarian" (denominational) identity, that identity was expressed primarily in terms of belonging to a Dharma lineage, not in terms of adherence to a particular set of doctrines or practices. Any and all traditional Buddhist practices could be and were embraced by various members of the Ch'an school. Moreover, as we saw in the case of communal manual labor, the Ch'an school in the Sung tried to take credit for inventing certain features of monastic practice that had helped (and could continue to help) the Buddhist order at large survive in Chinese society.

Two very visible signs of the Ch'an school's prominence in the Sung were its success in having its "lamp histories" sanctioned by the imperial court and included in official editions of the Buddhist Canon, and its success in having large, state supported "monasteries of the ten quarters" designated by the emperor as "Ch'an monasteries" where only monks in the Ch'an lineage could serve as abbot. A study of the actual organization and operation of major Buddhist monasteries in the Sung, however, suggests that there was very little apart from the name plaques on the gates to distinguish "Ch'an" from "Vinaya" and "Teachings" monasteries. Nevertheless, the fact that monasteries began to be named as Ch'an school facilities in the Sung is significant because it represents an attempt to define the Ch'an school not only as a lineage of Dharma inheritance, but

as an entity that had a concrete institutionalized existence. I have argued that it was the strong consciousness of belonging to a distinctive (and state approved) Dharma lineage, rather than a predilection for any particular approach to Buddhist practice, that resulted in the phenomemon of "Ch'an" masters leading "Ch'an" disciples in "Ch'an" monasteries in the Sung.

The claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* concerning Pai-chang's establishment of an independent system of Ch'an monasticis were first made by an individual, perhaps the abbot of an officially designated Ch'an monastery, who was concerned with promoting a spirit of strict discipline that he claimed was Pai-chang's legacy. Whether or not his account of "Pai-chang's" system of monastic training is historically accurate is a matter that can only be decided on the basis of independent evidence dating from the T'ang. I have suggested that the claims of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* be treated as hypotheses to guide further research. I have also outlined a method for determining the institutional surroundings of T'ang Ch'an masters, and have reviewed the historical sources that are available for a comparative study of hypothetically "Ch'an" and ordinary (non-Ch'an) forms of monastic practice.

Whatever the historicity of the claims made in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, and regardless of how we interpret the author's motives in compiling the text, a fact remains that needs to be explained: the story of Pai-chang's establishment of independent Ch'an monasteries was subsequently seized upon and repeated time and again in the literature of the Ch'an school, and indeed in "non-Ch'an" Buddhist texts as well. The popularity of the Pai-chang story later in the Sung and Yüan was probably due to the fact that it explained the origins of existing institutions -- nominally independent Ch'an monasteries -- and sanctified them by associating them with a revered ancestral figure.

The modern conception of the Ch'an school as an object of historical investigation has evolved out of the traditional Ch'an historiography. Initially, the pioneers of the modern

study of the history of Ch'an had very few sources on which to base a critical study of the account found in the Sung lamp histories, but the discoveries of long hidden texts at Tun-huang and elsewhere opened a new window on the field. As the study of the Tun-huang lamp histories progressed, the historicity of various aspects of the traditional Ch'an genealogy was increasingly called into question. Scholars, especially those associated with the Japanese Zen schools, began to look for other ways to define the "Ch'an school" as a really existing historical entity. Modern attempts to define the Ch'an school in a manner that does not hinge entirely on the concept of Dharma inheritance have focused variously on modes of religious practice, doctrines, the production of certain genres of literature, and of course monastic institutions. In most cases, an effort is made to identify some distinctive phenomena that can be regarded as characteristic of and unique to Ch'an. These attempts have floundered because attachment to the traditional list of Ch'an ancestral teachers remains strong, and it is impossible to find any single practice or doctrine that is common to all figures in the genealogy without going to a level of definition so general that many Buddhists not in the traditional lineage would have be included. The result is an academic field in which the understanding of the very object of study -- the "Ch'an school" or simply "Ch'an" -- remains highly ambiguous. What holds the field together, in the final analysis, is a continued tacit reliance on the traditional (Sung) genealogies.

The use that modern Japanese historians have made of the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* and other, derivative accounts of Pai-chang's innovations is symptomatic of the need that is felt to define the early Ch'an school in a concrete, positivistic manner. It is hard to imagine a more problematic piece of evidence, but the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* does in fact suggest that independent Ch'an school monasteries were established by at least one group of Ch'an monks in the T'ang. Although it is the only classical source that makes this claim, and was almost

certainly a product of the Sung, modern Japanese Zen historians have seized upon the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih* as proof that sectarian Ch'an institutions existed in the T'ang. In doing so, of course, they have behind them the full weight of the Ch'an and Zen tradition, which since the Sung has accepted the historicity of the Pai-chang story.

The assumption that the early Ch'an school was a sect functions like a set of blinders, screening out of scholarly view and consideration all sorts of potentially controverting evidence. We have seen that many of the features of monastic training described in the *Ch'an-men kuei-shih*, which are usually deemed Ch'an school inventions, are in fact based on traditional Buddhist practices explained in the Vinaya. But the belief that the early Ch'an school rejected the mainstream monastic tradition has led most historians of early Ch'an to regard the Vinaya literature as fundamentally irrelevant to their field of study.

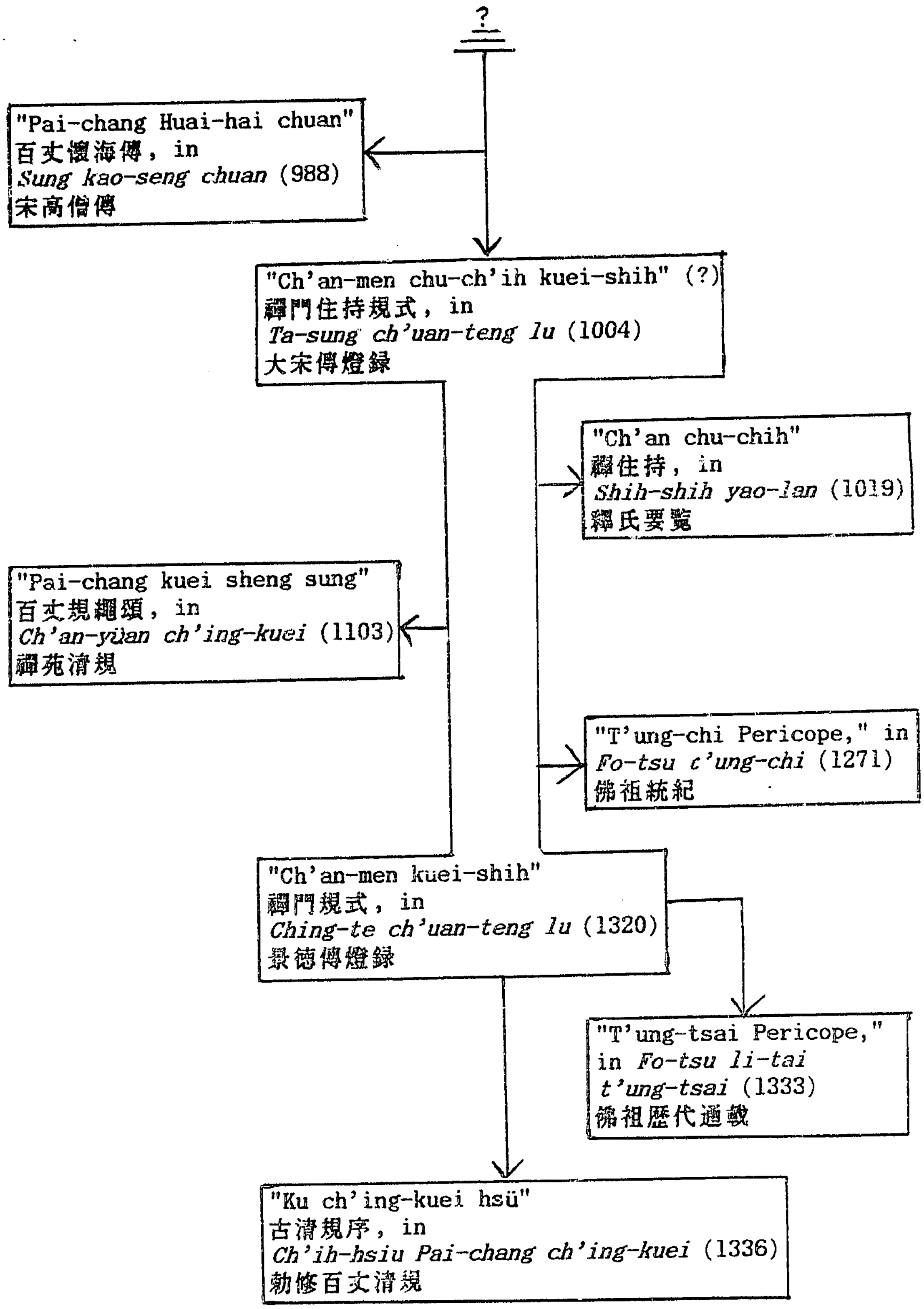
I have devoted much space in this dissertation to a critique of existing scholarship on the "history of the Ch'an school." It will be obvious to the discerning reader, however, that I am also in great debt to that scholarship, and indeed have based many of my arguments on evidence marshalled by the very historians whose views I criticize. Moreover, although I have pointed out the conceptual ambiguity that plagues most scholarship on the history of Ch'an, I cannot pretend to have completely resolved the problem or to have escaped from ambiguity myself. The stipulative definition of the "Ch'an school" that I offer at the end of Chapter Five represents an attempt to put the study of the Ch'an school on a firmer critical footing by dispensing with the assumption that such a "school" or "lineage" necessarily had a concrete (as opposed to mythological) existence. Neverthless, my definition still rests on the traditional conception of a multi-branched lineage of Dharma inheritance stemming from Bodhidharma. When all is said and done, I too join the ranks of those who would "rescue" the Ch'an tradition from its encounter with modern historical cri-

ticism.

Finally, I want to acknowledge a shortcoming of the dissertation that is obvious, but should to be stated nonetheless: the fundamental question raised at the outset, "Was the Early Ch'an School a Sect?," has not been answered in these pages. The reader has no doubt been left with the impression that I believe the answer to be "no." That impression is correct: I doubt that members of the Ch'an school in China *ever*, in the Sui, T'ang, Five Dynasties, Sung or any time thereafter, made a break with the Buddhist monastic tradition that resulted in the establishment of separate, independent, uniquely "Ch'an" institutions. It was only in Kamakura Japan, I believe, that newly imported Chinese Buddhist (i.e. "Ch'an") monastic institutions were sufficiently different from the institititions of the old established Tendai and Shingon schools for us to speak of distinctively "Zen" forms of monastery organization and operation. My opinion on this matter, however, like the opposing view which holds that sectarian Ch'an institutions existed in China, remains unproven. I have only mustered enough evidence in these pages to demonstrate that the question of the Ch'an school's place in the Buddhist monastic tradition is still an open one.

APPENDIX A

EDITIONS, PERICOPES, AND QUOTATIONS OF THE *CH'AN-MEN KUEI-SHIH*



(----> Arrows indicate direction of textual borrowing)

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE NAMES AND TERMS

A-chi-mo	阿笈摩
A-chi-mo chiao	阿笈摩教
A-han	阿含
a-p'i-t'an-shih	阿毘曇師
A-yü-wang	阿育王
an-chü	安居
An Lu-shan	安祿山
Bukkyō daijiten	佛教大辭典
Bukkyōgo daijiten	佛教語大辭典
Bukkyō jiten	佛教辭典
bunruiteki kenkyū	分類的研究
Butsudō	佛道
chai	齋
ch'a-shou	叉手
ch'an	禪
ch'an-chang	禪杖
ch'an-chia liu	禪家流
ch'an-ching	禪經
ch'an-ching yi-chih	禪淨一致
ch'an chu-ch'ih	禪住持
ch'an-chü	禪居
ch'an-fa	禪法
Ch'an-fa yao-chiai	禪法要解
ch'an-fang	禪坊
ch'an-hsi	禪席
ch'an-kuan	禪觀
ch'an-lin	禪林
Ch'an-lin pei-yung ch'ing-kuei	禪林備用清規
ch'an-men	禪門
Ch'an-men chang	禪門章
ch'an-men che	禪門者
Ch'an-men ch'i-tsu hsing-chuang pei-ming	禪門七祖行狀碑銘
Ch'an-men ching	禪門經
ch'an-men chu-ch'ih kuei-shih	禪門住持規式
Ch'an-men k'ou-chüeh	禪門口訣
Ch'an-men kuei-shih	禪門規式
ch'an-men pu	禪門部
ch'an-men shih-tzu	禪門師資

Ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u	禪門師資承襲圖
ch'an-men tsung	禪門宗
ch'an-men tsung-chih	禪門宗旨
ch'an-men-tsung seng	禪門宗僧
ch'an-na	禪那
ch'an-seng	禪僧
ch'an-shih	禪師
ch'an-shih	禪室
ch'an-ssu	禪寺
ch'an-ting	禪定
ch'an-tsu	禪祖
ch'an-tsung ti-i tsu	禪宗第一祖
ch'an-tsung	禪宗
ch'an-tsung hsüeh-che	禪宗學者
ch'an-tsung shih	禪宗史
Ch'an-yao ching	禪要經
ch'an-yü	禪宇
ch'an-yüan	禪院
ch'an-yüan ch'ing kuei	禪苑淸規
Ch'an-yüan ch'ing-kuei	禪苑淸規
Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü	禪源諸詮集都序
ch'an-wu	禪屋
chang-lao	長老
Chang-lu Tsung-tse	長蘆宗賾
Chang Shang-ying	張商英
ch'ang-lien-ch'uang	長連床
ch'ang-tsung	常總
Chao-ch'ing-yüan	招慶院
Chao-chou chen-chi ch'an-shih yü-lu	趙州眞際禪師語録
chao-hsin-liao	照心寮
chao-ts'an hsi-chü	朝參夕聚
chao-ts'an mu-ch'ing	朝參暮請
chen	箴
chen-hsin	眞心
chen-hsing	眞性
chen-ju	眞如
chen-ju san-mei	眞如三昧
chen-ti	眞諦
chen-tsung	眞宗
chen-wo	眞我
Ch'en Ch'u-chang	陳楚章
cheng-nien	正念
cheng-shan-men	正山門

Cheng-shou	正受
Ch'i-sung	契崇
ch'i-tsung	七宗
chia-ch'a	甲刹
chia-feng	家風
Chia-t'ai p'u-teng lu	嘉泰普燈録
chiai-hsia	解夏
chiai-lü	戒律
chiai-pen	戒本
chiai-shih	戒師
chiai-t'an	戒壇
chiai-t'o	解脫
Chiang-chou	江州
chiao	教
chiao-ch'an yi-chih	教禪一致
chiao-shih	教師
chiao-ssu	教寺
chiao-wai pieh-ch'uan	教外別傳
chiao-yüan	教院
Chiao-yüan ch'ing-kuei	教苑清規
chibetto bun zenshū bunken	チベット文禅宗文献
chieh	偈
chieh-hsia	結夏
chieh-mo	羯磨
chieh-yüan-chu	廨院主
chien-chiao	漸教
Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu	建中靖國續燈録
chien-fo	見佛
chien-fo-hsing	見佛性
chien-hsing	見性
chien-pen-hsing	見本性
chien-hsiu	漸修
chih-fan	制範
Chih-hsien	智詵
chih-hui	智慧
Chih-i	智顗
chih-kuan	止觀
Chih-kuan fu-hsing ch'uan-hung chüeh	止觀輔行傳弘決
Chih-p'an	志磐
chih-tz'u	勅賜
ch'ih-chiai	持戒
ch'ih-hsiu	勅修
Ch'ih-hsiu Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei	勅修百丈清規

ch'ih-tz'u	勅賜
Chin-kang san-mei ching	金剛三昧經
ch'in t'an-hsin	勤檀信
ching	境
Ching	靜
Ching-ch'i T'an-jan	荆溪歎然
ching-chiai	境界
ching-chin	精進
Ching-chung	淨衆
ching-chung tsung	淨衆宗
Ching-hsien	敬賢
ching-hsin	淨心
Ching-te ch'an-ssu	景德禪寺
Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu	景德傳燈録
Ching-te ling-yin ch'an-ssu	景德靈隱禪寺
ching-t'u tsung	淨土宗
ch'ing-chung	清衆
ch'ing-kuei	清規
Ch'ing-yüan	青原
Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu	青原行思
chiu-nien	九年
Ch'iu-na-pa-t'o-lo	求那跋陀羅
chou	粥
Ch'ou	稠
chu-chang	拄杖
chu-ch'ih	住持
chu-fo chih mi-men	諸佛之秘門
chu-shan	諸山
chu-shih	主事
Ch'u-chi	處寂
Ch'u	楚
ch'u-chia	出家
ch'u-tsu	初祖
chü-tsu chiai	具足戒
chü ssu-wei-i	具四威儀
chü wei-i	具威儀
ch'uan	傳
ch'uan-fa	傳法
Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi	傳法正宗記
Ch'uan fa-pao chi	傳法寶紀
Ch'uan fa-pao chi ping-hsü	傳法寶紀并序
Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao	傳心法要
Ch'üan t'ang wen	全唐文

Ch'üan-chou	泉州
Ch'üan-chou ch'ien-fo hsin-chu chu-tsu-shih sung	泉州千佛新著諸祖師頌
chuang-she	莊舍
ch'uang	床
Chüeh-fan Hui-hung	覺範慧洪
Chüeh-hsin	覺心
chüeh-hsin	覺心
Chüeh-kuan lun	絶觀論
ch'uang	床
Chung	忠
Chung-feng Ming-pen	中峰明本
Chung-hua ch'uan hsin-ti ch'an-men shih-tzu ch'eng-hsi-t'u	中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖
Chung-kuan lun	中觀論
chung-liao	衆寮
Ch'ung-k'o ku-tsun-su yü-lu	重刻古尊宿語録
daiji	大事
Daruma daishi no kenkyū	達摩大師の研究
Daruma no kenkyū	達磨の研究
daruma ron	達磨論
denbō	傳法
dentō soshi	傳燈祖師
dōchū no kufū	動中の功夫
Dōgen Kigen	道元希玄
Eisai	榮西
Enchin	圓珍
Ennin	圓仁
Erh-ju ssu-hsing	二入四行
Erh-ju ssu-hsing lun	二入四行論
fa	法
Fa-chü ching	法句經
Fa-chü ching shu	法句經疏
fa-fu	法服
Fa-hsien	法顯
fa-hsing	法性
Fa-ju	法如
Fa-jung	法融
fa-men	法門
fa-shih	法師
fa-ssu	法嗣
fa-t'ang	法堂
Fa-wang ching	法王經

Fa-yen	法眼
Fa-yen tsung	法眼宗
Fa-yen Wen-i	法眼文益
Fa-yung	法融
fan-fu	凡夫
fan-fu ch'an	凡夫禪
fan-nao	煩惱
fan-t'an	梵壇
fan-t'ou	飯頭
Fan-wang ching	梵網經
fang-chang	方丈
fang-pien	方便
fen-pieh	分別
Feng-mu	馮墓
fo-hsin	佛心
fo-hsin tsung	佛心宗
fo-hsing	佛性
Fo-lung chih-che ch'an-yüan	佛隴智者禪院
Fo-shuo fa-chü ching	佛說法句經
fo-tien	佛殿
fo-tsu chih chia	佛祖之家
Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai	佛祖歷代通載
Fo-tsu t'ung-chi	佛祖統紀
Fu-chou	福州
fu-chou-fan	赴粥飯
fu fa-tsang	付法藏
Fu-chu fa-tsang chuan lüeh-ch'ao	付囑法藏傳略抄
Fu fa-tsang yin-yüan chuan	付法藏因緣傳
Fu-hsien Wen-teng	福先文僜
fudan zazen	不斷坐禪
Fukuba Hoshū	福場保洲
fushin	普請
gakusha	學者
ge	偈
geju rui	偈頌類
gikyō rui	偈經類
gōriteki	合理的
goroku rui	語録類
Gozan jissatsu zu	五山十刹圖
gyōji	行事
Gyōji	行持
gutaika	具体化
Hakuin Ekaku	白隠慧鶴

hang-che	行者
hang-chiao	行脚
Harada Kōdō	原田弘道
hihanteki	批判的
Hōkyōki	寶慶記
ho-chang	合掌
ho-shang	和尚
Ho-tse	荷澤
Ho-tse Shen-hui	荷澤神會
hsi-ch'an	習禪
hsi-hsin	繫心
Hsi-hsin ming	息心銘
Hsi-hsin tsan	息心讚
hsi-pan	西班
Hsiao-ch'eng san-k'o	小乘三科
Hsiao chih-kuan	小止觀
hsiang	像
Hsien	詵
Hsien-tsung chi	顯宗記
hsin	心
hsin-shen	心神
hsin-ti	心地
hsing	行
hsiu	修
Hsiu	秀
Hsiu-ch'an-ssu	修禪寺
Hsü kao-seng chuan	續高僧傳
hsü-mi-t'an	須彌壇
Hsüan-shih	宣什
hsüeh-che	學者
hsüeh-chung	學衆
Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un	雪峯義存
hsüeh-mo	血脈
Hu-fa lun	護法論
hu-chiai	護戒
Hu Shih	胡適
Hua-yen	華嚴
hua-chu	化主
Huan-chu-an ch'ing-kuei	幻住菴清規
Huang-lung	黃龍
Huang-lung Hui-nan	黃龍慧南
Huang-mei	黃梅
Huang-po	黃檗

Huang-po Hsi-yün	黄檗希運
Huang-po tuan-chi ch'an-shih wan-ling lu	黄檗斷際禪師宛陵録
Hui-an	慧安
Hui-ch'ang	會昌
Hui-chiao	慧皎
Hui-chih	慧智
Hui-ch'ou	慧稠
Hui-fu	慧福
Hui-hung	慧洪
Hui-jung	慧融
Hui-k'o	慧可
Hui-neng	慧能
Hui-ssu	慧思
Hui-wen	慧文
Hui-yen Chih-chao	晦巖智昭
Hung-chou	洪州
Hung-jen	弘忍
hyakujō ko shingi	百丈古清規
Hyakujō shingi	百丈清規
i-chia	椸架
i-chia	衣架
i-ch'ieh-chih	一切智
I-ching	義淨
I-fu	義福
i-hsing san-mei	一行三昧
i-nien	一念
Imaeda Aishin	今枝愛真
Inaba Meidō	稲葉明堂
Indo zen	印度禪
jen	忍
jen-ju	忍辱
Jen-t'ien yen-mu	人天眼目
jissaika	実際化
jissen	実践
jissen ha	実践派
jissen-teki	実践的
Jōdo	淨土
jōdoshū	淨土宗
ju ch'an-ching fang-pien	入禪境方便
Ju-chung jih-yung ch'ing-kuei	入衆日用清規
jukai	受戒
ju-lai	如來
ju-lai ch'an	如來禪

ju-lai ch'ing-ching	如來清淨
ju-lai ch'ing-ching ch'an	如來清淨禪
ju-li	入理
ju-shih	入室
ju-shih ch'ing-i	入室請益
ju-shih ti-tzu	入室弟子
Ju-tao an-hsin yao fang-pien fa-men	入道安心要方便法門
Kagamishima Genryū	鏡島元隆
Kai-yüan	開元
k'an-hsin	看心
k'an-ching-t'ang	看經堂
kankin	看經
Kannon-zanmai	觀音三昧
Kao-seng chuan	高僧傳
Kao-seng fa-hsien chuan	高僧法顯傳
kechimyaku	血脈
keishikika	形式化
keitō	系統
Ken-pen-shuo i-ch'ieh-yu p'i-nai-yeh	根本說一切有毘奈耶
keng	羹
kenshō jōbutsu	見性成佛
Kenninji	建仁寺
Kiangsi	江西
Kim Ho-shang	金和尚
Kimura Ryūtoku	木村隆德
Kimura Shizuo	木村静雄
ko-lao	獦獠
kōan	公案
Kondō Ryōichi	近藤良一
Kongōkyō to rokuso dankyō no kenkyū	金剛經と六祖壇經の研究
konkō	混淆
Kosaka Kiyū	小坂機融
Kōshōji	興聖寺
Kōzen gokoku ron	興禪護國論
ku ch'ing-kuei hsü	古清規序
kua-ta	掛搭
kuan	觀
kuan-ch'a	觀察
Kuan-hsin lun	觀心論
kuan ju-lai	觀如來
kuan-men	觀門
Kuan-yin	觀音
kuan-yin-t'ang	觀音堂

Kuang-li ch'an-ssu	廣利禪寺
kuei-fan-shih	軌範師
Kuei-feng Tsung-mi	圭峰宗密
kung-an	公案
kung-fu	功夫
kung-te	功德
kung-yang	供養
Kuno Hōryū	久野芳隆
Kuo-ch'ing	國淸
Kuo-ch'ing po-lu	國淸百錄
Kuo-lang Hsüan-shih	果閬宣什
kyōge betsuden	教外別傳
kyōgi bukkyō	教義仏教
kyōri	教理
kyōshū	教宗
kyōzen itchi	教禅一致
Lao-an	老安
Leng-chia shih-tzu chi	楞伽師資記
Leng-chia shih-tzu chi hsü	楞伽師資記序
Leng-chia tsung	楞伽宗
Leng-chia tsung k'ao	楞伽宗考
li	理
li	禮
li-nien	離念
li-pai	禮拜
Li-tai fa-pao-chi	歷代法寶記
Li Tsun-hsü	李遵勗
liao	寮
liao-she	寮舍
liao-ssu	寮司
Lin-chi	臨濟
Lin-chi I-hsüan	臨濟義玄
Lin-chi-tsung	臨濟宗
liu-ch'ün chih tang	六群之黨
liu-tai ch'an-tsung	六代禪宗
Liu-tsu t'an-ching	六祖壇經
Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi	洛陽伽藍記
lo-han-t'ang	羅漢堂
lou	漏
lü	律
lü-chih	律制
lü-i	律儀
lü-shih	律師

lü-ssu	律寺
lü-tsung	律宗
lü-yüan	律院
Lü-yüan shih-kuei	律苑事規
lüeh	略
lun-tsang	輪藏
Ma-tsu	馬祖
Ma-tsu Tao-i	馬祖道一
Ma-tsu tao-i ch'an-shih kuang-lu	馬祖道一禪師廣録
Ma-tsu tao-i yü-lu	馬祖道一語録
Masunaga Reihō	増永霊鳳
Matsumoto Bunsaburō	松本文三郎
mei	銘
meisō	瞑想
men	門
Meisha yoin kaisetsu	鳴沙餘韻解説
mi-chiao	密教
mida-zanmai	彌陀三昧
mikkyō	密教
mien-pi	面壁
Min	閩
ming	銘
Mizuno Kōgen	水野弘元
Mochizuki	望月
mo	末
Mo-ho chih-kuan	摩訶止觀
Mo-ho-seng-ch'i lü	摩訶僧祇律
Mo-ho-yen	摩訶衍
mo-ho-yen-jen	摩訶衍人
mo-wang	莫忘
mokushō zen	黙照禪
mu-yü	木魚
Na	那
naikan	内觀
Nakamura Hajime	中村元
Nan-ch'üan	南泉
Nan-ch'üan P'u-yüan	南泉普願
Nan-hai chi-kuei nei fa chuan	南海寄歸内法傳
Nan Han	南漢
Nan-shan	南山
nan-shan tsung	南山宗
Nan-t'ang	南唐

Nan-t'ien-chu-kuo p'u-t'i-ta-mo ch'an-shih kuan-men	南天竺菩提達磨禪師觀門
nan-tsung	南宗
Nan-tsung ting hsieh-cheng wu keng-chuan	南宗定邪正五更傳
Nan-yang ho-shang tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih-liao-hsing t'an-yü	南陽和尚頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語
Nan-yang Hui-chung	南陽慧忠
Nan-yüeh	南嶽
Nan-yüeh Huai-jang	南嶽懷讓
nieh-p'an	涅槃
Nieh-p'an ching	涅槃經
nieh-p'an t'ang	涅槃堂
nien	念
Nien-ch'ang	念常
nien-fo	念佛
nien-hao	年號
Nittō guhō junrei gyōki	入唐求法巡禮行
Niu-t'ou	牛頭
Niu-t'ou Fa-jung	牛頭法融
Niu-t'ou Hui-jung	牛頭慧融
Niu-t'ou tsung	牛頭宗
o	額
Ōbata Hironobu	小畠宏允
Ōishi Shuyū	大石守雄
Okada Gihō	岡田宜法
Okimoto Katsumi	沖本克己
Okubo Dōshū	大久保道舟
Orategama	遠羅天釜
Pai-chang	百丈
Pai-chang ch'ing-kuei	百丈清規
Pai-chang Huai-hai	百丈懷海
Pai-chang Huai-hai Ch'an-shih wang	百丈懷海禪師亡
Pai-chang Huai-hai chuan	百丈懷海傳
Pai-chang ku ch'ing-kuei	百丈古清規
Pai-chang kuang-lu	百丈廣錄
Pai-chang kuei-sheng sung	百丈規繩頌
pai-chang Ta-chih	百丈大智
p'ai	派
pan-jo	般若
pan-jo-po-lo-mi	般若波羅蜜
p'an-chiao	判教
p'ang-ch'u	傍出
Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan	保福從展

Pao-lin	寳林
Pao-lin chuan	寳林傳
Pao-t'ang	保唐
Pei-shan	北山
Pei-shan lu	北山録
pei-tsung	北宗
P'ei Hsiu	裴休
pen-hsing	本性
pen-tsun	本尊
pen-yu	本有
pi-kuan	壁觀
pi-ni	毘尼
Pi-yen lu	碧巌録
pieh-yüan	別院
Pieh-li ch'an chü	別立禪居
pien-tao-chü	辨道具
pin-chu	賓主
p'ing-ch'ang-hsin shih tao	平常心是道
p'ing-teng	平等
P'o-t'ou	破頭
pu-chia hsiu-tao tso-ch'an	不假修道坐禪
pu-shih	布施
pu-erh-men	不二門
pu-li wen-tzu	不立文字
pu-sa	布薩
P'u-chi	普寂
P'u-chi	普濟
p'u-ch'ing	普請
p'u-ch'ing tso-wu	普請作務
p'u-sa ch'an	菩薩禪
p'u-sa chiai	菩薩戒
p'u-sa chiai-mo	菩薩戒脈
p'u-sa ch'ing-ching ta-chiai	菩薩清浄大戒
P'u-sa shan-chiai ching	菩薩善戒經
P'u-sa ti-ch'ih-ching	菩薩地持經
P'u-sa ying-lo pen-yeh ching	菩薩瓔珞本業經
P'u-t'i-ta-mo	菩提達摩
P'u-t'i-ta-mo nan-tsung ting shih-fei lun	菩提達摩南宗定是非論
rekishiteki kenkyū hō	歴史的研究法
Rinzai	臨濟
Saichō	最澄
samu	作務
san	讃

Sanbō mondō	三寶問答
Sanbō shitai bun	三寶四諦文
san-i	三衣
san-chiao yi-chih	三教一致
san-chü ch'ing-ching chiai	三聚清浄戒
San-k'o fa-i	三科法義
san-kuei-chiai	三歸戒
San-lun	三論
san-yeh	三業
sanmon	山門
sanmotsu	三物
sanmyaku	三脈
satori	悟り
seijin	西浄
Sekiguchi Shindai	關口眞大
Seng-ch'ou	僧稠
seng-chung	僧衆
seng-fang	僧坊
Seng-pao-chuan	僧寶傳
seng-t'ang	僧堂
Seng-ts'an	僧璨
sha-mi	沙彌
sha-mi chiai	沙彌戒
sha-mi shou-chiai	沙彌受戒
sha-men	沙門
shan-men	山門
Shan-yü	善遇
shang-t'ang	上堂
shang-t'ang sheng-tso	上堂陞座
shang-tso	上座
shao-ch'eng	小乘
shao-ch'eng ch'an	小乘禪
Shao-shih liu-men	小室六門
Shen-hsiu	神秀
Shen-hui	神會
Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi	神會和尚遺集
Shen-hui yü-lu	神會語録
Shen-t'ung-ssu	神通寺
Sheng-chou chi	聖胄集
shichidō garan	七堂伽藍
shih	室
shih	事
shih-ch'a	十刹

shih-che	侍者
shih-ch'ing	石磬
Shih-erh t'ou-t'o ching	十二頭陀經
shih-fang ch'a	十方刹
shih-fang ch'an-ch'a	十方禪刹
shih-lo	尸羅
Shih-men lin-chien lu	石門林間録
Shih-men wen-tzu ch'an	石門文字禪
shih-ngo-kuei-hui	施餓鬼會
Shih po lun	釋駁論
Shih-shih yao-lan	釋氏要覽
shih sha-mi chiai	十沙彌戒
Shih sui cheng-yüeh Pai-chang Huai-hai Ch'an-shih shih-chi	是歲正月百丈懷海禪師示寂
Shih-sung lü	十誦律
shih-t'ou	石頭
Shih-t'ou	石頭
Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien	石頭希遷
Shiina Kōyū	椎名宏雄
shikan'in	止觀院
shin	箴
Shingon	眞言
shingon'in	眞言院
Shisho	嗣書
shisō	思想
Shōbōgenzō	正法眼藏
Shoki zenshū shisho no kenkyū	初期禪宗史書の研究
shōtōteki	正統的
shou-chiai	授戒
shou-chiai	受戒
shou chü-tsu chiai	受具足戒
Shou-leng-yen ching	首楞嚴經
shou-ling	首領
shou-tso	首座
shou-yeh	受業
shū	宗
shūha	宗派
shu-chi	書記
Shuang-feng	雙峯
shui-lu-hui	水陸會
shui-lu-t'ang	水陸堂
shuryō	衆寮
shūzen	習禪

soroku	祖録
Sōtō	曹洞
ssu	寺
ssu-fa	嗣法
ssu-fan seng-chia	四方僧伽
ssu-fa-shu	嗣法書
Ssu-fen lü	四分律
Ssu-fen lü chiai-pen shu	四分律戒本疏
Ssu-fen lü chieh-mo shu	四分律羯磨疏
Ssu-fen lü hsing-shih ch'ao	四分律行事鈔
ssu-liao-chien	四料揀
ssu nien-ch'u kuan	四念處觀
ssu pin-chu	四賓主
ssu-wei kuan-ch'a	思惟觀察
ssu-yüan	四院
suiriku gu	水陸供
su-ti	俗諦
Su-tsung	肅宗
Sung	嵩
sung	頌
Sung kao-seng chuan	宋高僧傳
Suzuki Daisetsu	鈴木大拙
Ta-chao	大照
ta-ch'eng	大乘
ta-ch'eng ch'an	大乘禪
Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun	大乘起信論
ta-ch'eng chiai-lü	大乘戒律
Ta-ch'eng chung-tsung chien-chieh	大乘中宗見解
Ta-ch'eng k'ai-hsin hsien-hsing tun-wu chen-tsung lun	大乘開心顯性頓悟眞宗論
ta-ch'eng pi-kuan	大乘壁觀
Ta-ch'eng san-k'o	大乘三科
Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men	大乘無生方便門
Ta-chih	大智
Ta chih-tu lun	大智度論
Ta-chu Hui-hai	大珠慧海
Ta-mo ch'an-shih lun	達摩禪師論
ta-chung	大衆
Ta-mo tsung	達磨宗
ta pu-shih	大布施
ta-seng	大僧
Ta-sung ch'uan-teng lu	大宋傳燈録
Ta-sung seng-shih lüeh	大宋僧史略

ta-te	大徳
ta-tso-ch'an	大坐禪
t'a	塔
taikenteki	体験的
tan	単
tan-ch'uan	単傳
tan-ch'uan tsung-chih	単傳宗旨
Tan-hsia T'ien-jan	丹霞天然
T'an-fa i-tse	壇法儀則
Tanaka Ryōshō	田中良昭
tang-tai	當代
t'ang-ssu wei-na	堂司維那
t'ang-wei-na	堂維那
Tao-ch'eng	道誠
tao-chü	道具
Tao-heng	道恒
Tao-hsin	道信
Tao-hsüan	道宣
Tao-sheng	道生
Tao-yüan	道原
Te-hui	徳輝
Te-tsung	徳宗
Tendai	天台
teng	等
teng	燈
ti-i-i	第一義
ti-i-tso	第一座
t'i	體
tien-tso	典座
T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu	天聖廣燈録
T'ien-shou-ssu	天壽寺
T'ien-t'ai	天台
T'ien-t'ai Chih-i	天台智顗
T'ien-t'ai-shan	天台山
T'ien-t'ai Te-chao	天台徳昭
T'ien-t'ai tsung	天台宗
T'ien-t'ung	天童
T'ien-t'ung-shan	天童山
T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching	天童如浄
T'ien-t'ung ling-lung-ssu	天童玲瓏
ting	定
Tōfukuji	東福寺

Tonkō shutsudo shina ko zenshi narabini zenseki ko zenseki kankei bunken ni tsuite	敦煌出土支那古禪史並に古禪籍関係文献について
Tonkō shutsudo shōshitsu issho	敦煌出土小室逸書
Tonkō zenshū bunken no kenkyū	敦煌禅宗文献の研究
tonmon ha	頓門派
tōshi	燈史
tōshi rui	燈史類
t'ou-t'o	頭陀
t'ou-t'o-hsing	頭陀行
tsai-chia	在家
ts'ai-t'ou	菜頭
ts'ai-yüan	菜園
tsan	讃
Tsan-ning	贊寧
ts'an-ch'an wen-tao	參禪問道
tsang-chu	藏主
tsang-shih	藏識
Ts'ao-ch'i	曹溪
Ts'ao-ch'i ta-shih pieh-chuan	曹溪大師別傳
Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi	曹山本寂
Ts'ao-tung tsung	曹洞宗
tso	坐
tso-ch'an	坐禪
tso-ch'an i	坐禪儀
tso-chien pen-hsing	坐見本性
tso-chu tz'u-shih	座主辭師
tso-fa	作法
tso-wu	作務
tsuchien	度第院
tsu-lu	祖録
tsu-shih	祖師
tsu-shih-t'ang	祖師堂
tsu-shih ch'an	祖師禪
Tsu-t'ang chi	祖堂集
tsui-shang ch'eng	最上乘
tsui-shang ch'eng ch'an	最上乘禪
tsun	尊
tsung	宗
tsung-chih	宗旨
Tsung-men lien-teng hui-yao	宗門聯燈會要
Tsung-men shih-kuei lun	宗門十規論
Tsung-mi	宗密
Tsung-tse	宗賾

Ts'ung-jung lu	從容錄
ts'ung-lin	叢林
Ts'ung-lin chiao-ting ch'ing-kuei	叢林校訂清規
t'u-ti-shen	土地神
t'u-ti-t'ang	土地堂
tu-ti-yüan	度第院
t'u-ti-yüan	徒第院
tui-fang	碓房
tun	頓
tun-chiao chieh-t'o ch'an-men chih-hsing-liao	頓教解脱禪門直性了
Tun-huang	敦煌
tun-men	頓門
tun-tsung	頓宗
tun-wu	頓悟
tun-wu ch'an-tsung	頓悟禪宗
tun-wu ta-ch'eng ch'an-men	頓悟大乘禪門
Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh	頓悟大乘正理訣
Tun-wu wu-sheng pan-jo sung	頓悟無生般若頌
Tun-wu yao-men	頓悟要門
tung	動
tung-shan fa-men	東山法門
tung-shan tsung	東山宗
Tung-shan Liang-chieh	洞山良价
tung-hsi liang-t'ang	東西兩堂
T'ung-ch'ing	同慶
t'ung-hang	童行
t'ung-t'ang	通堂
Ui Hakuju	宇井伯壽
wai-tao	外道
wai-tao ch'an	外道禪
Wang	王
wang-nien	忘念
wang-nien pu-sheng	忘念不生
wang-hsiang	妄想
Wang-ming	亡名
Wang-ming ho-shang chüeh-hsüeh-chen	亡名和尚絶學箴
Wang Yen-pin	王延彬
Wei	潙
Wei-mo ching	維摩經
wei-i	威儀
wei-na	維那
Wei-po	惟白
Wei-shan Ling-yu	潙山靈祐

Wei-yang tsung	潙仰宗
wen-hsün	問訊
wen-t'a	問答
Wu-chi	無際
wu-chia	五家
wu-chiai	五戒
Wu-chu	無住
wu-fa chih fa	無法之法
Wu-fen lü	五分律
Wu-hsiang	無相
wu-hsiang-chiai	無相戒
wu-hsin	無心
Wu-hsin lun	無心論
Wu-hsing lun	悟性論
wu-i	無儀
Wu-liang-shou-ching	無量壽經
wu-lou	無漏
Wu-men	無門
Wu-men kuan	無門關
Wu-ming	悟明
wu-nien	無念
Wu-nien-ssu	萬年寺
wu-shan	五山
wu-shan shih-ch'a	五山十刹
wu-sheng	無生
wu-sheng ch'an	無生禪
wu-sheng hsin	無生心
Wu-sheng lun	無生論
wu so-yüan-nien	無所緣念
Wu-teng hui-yüan	五燈會元
wu-tso	無作
wu-wei	無爲
wu-wei	五位
Yabuki Keiki	矢吹慶輝
Yanagida Seizan	柳田聖山
Yang-ch'i	楊岐
Yang-ch'i Fang-hui	楊岐方會
Yang-i	楊億
Yang-shan Hui-chi	仰山慧寂
yin-k'o	印可
ying-yü li-hsiang	榮宇立象
yokushitsu	浴室
Yu-hsi	幽栖

Yü-chia-shih-ti lun	瑜伽師地論
Yü-lan-p'en-ching shu	盂蘭盆經疏
yü-lu	語錄
yü-pen	語本
yüan-chu	院主
Yüan-chüeh-ching tao-ch'ang hsiu-cheng-i	圓覺經道場修證儀
Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu	圓覺經大疏
Yüan-chüeh-ching ta-shu ch'ao	圓覺經大疏鈔
Yüan-ming lun	圓明論
yüeh-shih	藥石
yuikai	遺戒
Yün	筠
Yün-men tsung	雲門宗
Yün-men Wen-yen	雲門文偃
yung	用
Yung-ming Yen-shou	永明延壽
zazen	坐禪
zazen shū	坐禪宗
Zengaku daijiten	禪學大辭典
Zengaku kenkyūhō to sono shiryō	禪學研究法と其資料
zenbō	禪法
zendō	禅堂
zenji	禪師
zenjō	禪定
zenjō shisō shi	禪定思想史
zenkai	禪戒
zenkan	禪觀
zenke	禪家
zenke ryū	禪家流
zenkyō	禪經
zen kyōri	禪教理
zenna	禪那
zennasu	禪和子
zen no shisō	禪の思想
zenseki	禪籍
zensha	禪者
zen shisō	禪思想
zen shisō shi	禪思想史
zenshū	禪宗
zenshū bunken	禪宗文献
Zenshū no hassei	禅宗の発生
Zenshū no honshitsu	禪宗の本質
zenshū shi	禪宗史

Zenshū shi kenkyū	禪宗史研究
zenshū shisho	禪宗史書
Zenshū shisō shi	禅宗思想史
zenso	禪祖
zensō	禪僧
zenteki kyōhan	禪的教判
zenteki kyōten	禪的教典
zenteki shisō	禪的思想
zuda	頭陀
zudagyōsha	頭陀行者

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